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Established 1887

Growing Unrest Seen in Russia

Reported Car-Plant Strikes Blamed in Food Shortages in Major Cities

By Dan Fisher

MOSCOW, June 15 (LAT)—A report that the Soviet Union has lost at least three times the rate of its food supplies has fueled growing unrest in many of this country's industrial cities, informed sources said yesterday. And unrest has flared more frequently in various parts of the country, the sources added.

British Study Shows Broad Content

By John Darnton

SAW, June 15 (NYT)—A report prepared by more than 100 journalists, scholars and others, many of them from Communist establishments, says that the government's efforts to reverse the situation, it says, "the negative will progressively grow and such the avalanche stage, could threaten open social

searing, 75-page report of life, the relationship with the Soviet Union to economic mismanagement, and a press on the government's special privileges. "We need complete

seems to say Communist have not been fully realized a majority of the people "whom by problems and things into distrust, frustration

Nonpolitical Group report, entitled "How to Get the Future, a loosely organized group established in 1978, to engage in a campaign of the most vital of our nation and state."

group originally included advisers to Edward Gierak, a leading economic

group includes a number of activists and independent journalists but no disloyal wing of the established is it strongly rooted in its structure is indicated of that of the 141 others, members of the Communist

advised reportedly will be sub-Mr. Gierak, Premier Edouard and Stefan Cardinal, Roman Catholic, in Poland. It could prove an

ment to Mr. Gierak, government is contending economic problems that February to a top-level in which Mr. Babich re-

ugh Poland's structure as a list state is not questioned, some of the report is that it is toward a more liberal economic system, with the out moving to make equal-

port contends that the economic state it may be some \$18.5 billion to the last year registered a negative rate, minus 2 percent, just time since World War not the sole root of the ng apathy and dissatisfaction.

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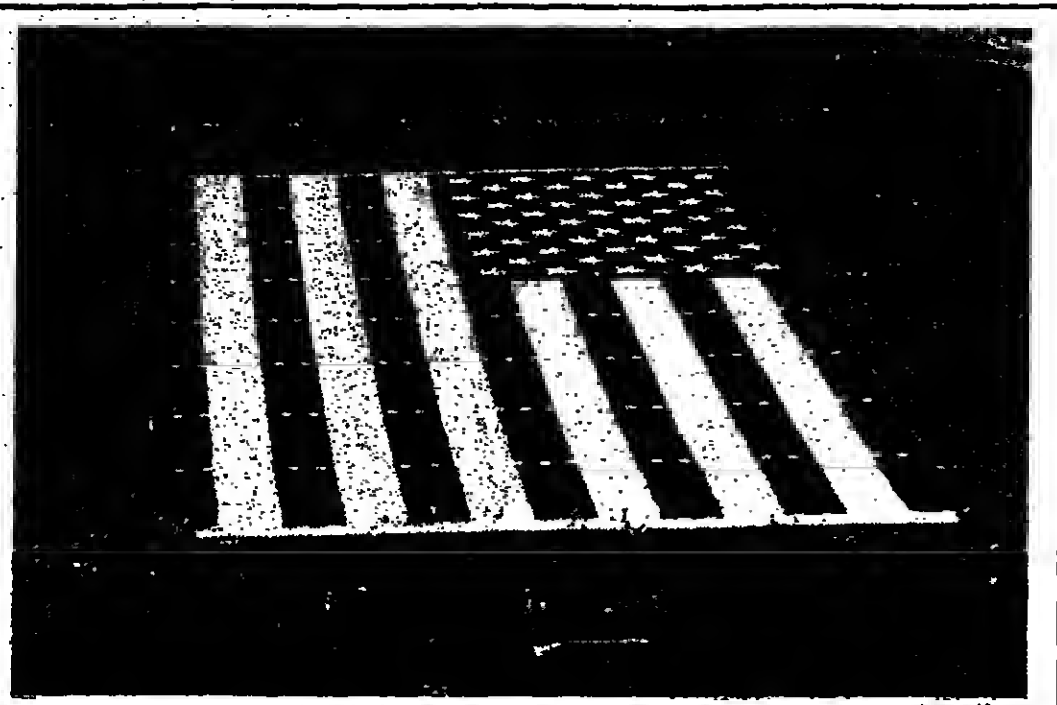
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Special Section

Pages 7S-16S



BROAD STRIPES—The world's largest American flag is unfurled on the Mall near the Washington Monument for Flag Day. Former advertising executive Len Silverfine hopes the 210-by-411-foot polyester banner will wave from New York's Verrazano-Narrows Bridge soon; he hung a smaller flag there for the U.S. Bicentennial, but the wind tore it to shreds.

Soviet Bid to Crash Party Feud Seen

Afghan Regime Executes 3 Amin Aides

By Tyler Marshall

NEW DELHI, June 15 (LAT)—The Soviet-backed Marxist regime in Afghanistan has tried and executed three former cabinet ministers, Kabul radio announced yesterday. All three men were loyal to President Hafizullah Amin, who was overthrown and killed when Soviet troops arrived in Kabul last December.

The executions of 10 other Amin loyalists had been announced last Sunday, and political analysts said that the executions signaled a Soviet attempt to crush increasingly serious factional feuding within the ruling People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. Some experts believe the feuding has become as much a threat to President Babrak Karmal's government as the rebel insurgency.

In a broadcast monitored here, Kabul radio said that a special court had tried and executed former Planning Minister Mohammed Siddiq Alamyar, former Minister of Tribal Affairs Subhan Sahrayee, and former Minister of Communications Mohammed Zari. It was unclear when and where the sentences were carried out.

Brains of Regime One source described Alamyar as the brains behind Amin's brutal regime. He was executed for "creating a network of terrorist groups and killing thousands of innocent people in the province of Balkh," Kabul radio said.

All three men had held provincial governorships and were members of the Khalq (People's) faction of Afghanistan's ruling party.

The 10 previously executed were members of the same faction. After the military intervention, the Russians ousted Amin, also a Khalqi, in favor of Mr. Karmal, leader of the party's smaller, but reportedly more pro-Moscow, group known as Parcham (Flag).

The two factions temporarily healed their differences after the April, 1978, coup that brought the Marxists to power in Afghanistan.

But a few months after the People's Democratic Party assumed

control, Parchamite leaders, including Mr. Karmal, were outmaneuvered in the struggle for power. Leading Parchamites were first banished to East European embassies and later purged. Those returning home or remaining in Afghanistan were subject to imprisonment and torture.

Afghan specialists believe that a key element in the Soviet intervention strategy was to broaden the Marxists' base by forcing a reconciliation between the two factions.

Mr. Karmal was picked for the task, and under Soviet supervision, his Cabinet was selected to include

all elements of the party. But there was little willingness to forget past differences, political analysts believe.

In recent months, a number of reported incidents indicate that members of the Khalq faction were involved in attempts to undermine the Karmal regime.

After the February uprising in Kabul, a government inquiry resulted in the dismissal of nearly 100 Khalq army officers, who were charged with inflaming the rioters by ordering troops to fire into the crowds.

More recently, there have been numerous reports of growing resentment within the Khalq faction at the Soviet presence in the country. These reports have coincided with incidents of intra-party assassinations and shootouts.

There were also two unconfirmed reports recently of Khalq members of the Cabinet trying to launch a coup to topple Mr. Karmal. The attempts were said to have been suppressed by the Russians.

Rebels Say Russians Ambushed PESHAWAR, Pakistan, June 15 (AP)—Afghan rebels ambushed a Soviet armored column in the hills of eastern Afghanistan, sparking a battle between thousands of men on each side that has left scores of casualties and is continuing, a rebel spokesman said here.

Abdul Akbarzai, a spokesman for the National Islamic Front of Afghanistan, said Friday that the battle had begun on Wednesday when Moslem rebels cut off a Soviet column as it tried to reach a besieged Afghan army garrison.

The guerrillas attacked from two sides of the Sulayman valley, about 34 miles from the Pakistani border, said the spokesman for the Peshawar-based insurgent group. He said 25 rebels were killed in the initial attack and he claimed Soviet forces suffered heavier losses.

Some local military experts were skeptical about the rebel claims, saying they doubted the guerrillas had the firepower or coordination for a sustained offensive.

German Storms Kill 9 BERLIN, June 15 (UPI)—Thunderevents killed nine persons in East Germany and caused millions of marks in damage in the West last night and today, officials said.

Working Currencies Andorra's working currencies are the Spanish peseta and the French franc. Madrid and Paris subsidize the nation's two main schools, where the Catalan-speaking Andorrans are taught in Spanish and French. Only in the last two years has a church-run school opened that teaches in Catalan.

According to French customs officials, Andorra last year imported \$840 million in goods from the EEC, the United States

PLO Called 'Arab SS'

Israel Condemns EEC Mideast Bid

By William Claiborne

JERUSALEM, June 15 (WP)—The Israeli Cabinet condemned the European Economic Community's declaration on the Middle East today, likening it to the 1938 surrender of the Sudetenland at Munich.

The Cabinet ministers also agreed that if the EEC attempts to send a fact-finding mission to the Middle East it will not be accepted in Israel, Cabinet sources said.

[The Palestine Liberation Organization, meanwhile, joined other hard-line Palestinian guerrilla groups and Syria today in rejecting the EEC's views on the Arab-Israeli conflict, United Press International reported from Damascus. The PLO, saying the EEC approach to the situation in the Middle East was in line with the Camp David peace plan, called on the Western European nations to free themselves from U.S. influence.]

Prime Minister Menachem Begin, in language that seemed unusually strong even for Israel's outspoken Cabinet, said the declaration adopted Friday by EEC leaders in Venice "calls upon us and all other nations involved in the peace process to involve the Arab SS, called the Palestine Liberation Organization."

Mr. Begin noted that el-Fatah, the main arm of the PLO, declared at its recent annual meeting in Damascus that it intended to "liquidate the Zionist entity politically, economically, militarily, culturally and ideologically." Yet despite this statement, Mr. Begin said, "a number of European countries are prepared to give guarantees, even military ones" to assure peaceful coexistence.

"Must Shoulder" Talking with reporters after the weekly Cabinet meeting, the prime minister added, "Anyone with a memory must shoulder, knowing the results of that guarantee given to Czechoslovakia in 1938 after Sudetenland was stolen from it."

Referring to the Fatah resolution, Mr. Begin said, "Since 'Mein Kampf' was written, no words were ever more explicit for all the world to hear—Europe included—on the striving to destroy the Jewish state and nation."

European leaders asserted in their declaration that the PLO would have to be associated with the Middle East negotiations, but they stressed that they were not recognizing the PLO. They also made clear that certain principles, such as Israel's right to exist and the Palestinians' right to self-determination, would have to apply to all parties, including the PLO.

Sources said that Mr. Begin wanted the Cabinet to be more specific in its criticism and mention by name France and Germany as liabilities to Middle East peace, but that Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir talked the prime minister out of the stronger language.

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Sources also said the Cabinet determined to refuse any EEC fact-finding mission access to Israel, on the basis that it would arrive with prejudged conceptions. But the sources said the Cabinet decided to withhold an announcement to that effect.

Last year, the government refused to allow a UN fact-finding mission to visit Israel to study settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, saying the mission had been established by the UN Palestine committee and was dominated by unfriendly Arab nations. The committee visited Jordan and issued a report that led to the UN Security Council condemnation of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories.

Before the Cabinet met, Finance Minister Yigael Hurvitz walked out (Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)



Menachem Begin

EEC Move Could Aid U.S. in Mideast Talks

By Joseph Fitchett

BONN, June 15 (IHT)—The European Economic Community's declaration on the Middle East has diplomatic ramifications well beyond the Israeli-Palestinian issue.

It is the most successful foreign policy compromise that the U.S. administration has been able to reach with its European allies since the Western alliance came under new strain after the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Amid the increasing risk in the wider Middle East region, the EEC

policy could set the stage for improved Western coordination, diplomats say.

"The Venice outcome avoided a dangerous gap appearing between us and the Europeans, and it might even be helpful in U.S. efforts to get a settlement," a U.S. National Security Council official said during a visit to Bonn.

The Venice declaration formalized West European calls both for Palestinian self-determination and for a Palestine Liberation Organization role in the process. It criticized Israel for hindering the hopes for peace by permitting Jewish settlements in occupied territory. But the EEC steered away from mentioning a Palestinian state, an exclusive PLO role or a new UN resolution—in short, any recommendation in direct conflict with the U.S.-arranged Israeli-Egyptian talks on Palestinian autonomy, which are deadlocked.

Many commentators had expected a more ambitious EEC initiative but the Venice declaration—which falls short of an initiative for the moment—headed U.S. pleas for restraint. European diplomats now will start exploring possible formulas to bring about direct discussions between the Israelis and the Palestinians, but several of them said that no public breakthrough was expected this year.

The immediate effect of European diplomacy, European officials said, (Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

France Said to Give Britain Protest Over New Hebrides

By Peter O'Loughlin

VILA, New Hebrides, June 15 (AP)—France today handed Britain a strongly worded memorandum protesting the arrival of British commandos in politically troubled New Hebrides, reliable sources said.

Neither British nor French officials would comment on the memorandum.

French Resident Commissioner Jean-Jacques Robert sent the note to his British counterpart, Andrew Stuart, the sources said.

The note, delivered on orders from the French minister of state for overseas territories, Paul Dijoud, said that France saw no justification for foreign forces in the archipelago, sources said.

It warned that if the British Royal Marines were deployed elsewhere but in Vila, France would consider it a breach of the 1914 protocol setting out the condominium which Britain and France have governed jointly for 74 years. It would also be a breach of the 1973 joint plan for decolonization, which will be completed July 30, when the New Hebrides gets full independence.

Emergency Measure The note said that under no circumstances would France consider signing a law putting into effect a state of emergency in the country, which has been unsettled by insurrections on two main islands.

France would not agree to any measure conferring on British forces the right to take action in the capital, Vila, or anywhere else in the 72-island archipelago, the note was reported to have said.

France was prepared to sign a special law allowing the New Hebrides government to give France and Britain powers over radio broadcasting, external and internal communications and police so they could function normally, the sources said.

All official communications have been cut with the rebellious, predominantly French-speaking island of Espiritu Santo, where tribal chief Jimmy Stevens took control and declared an independent republic on May 28.

Britain has sent 200 Royal Marines to Vila at the request of the government. The first four plane-loads of men and equipment arrived today. Their arrival followed the deployment Wednesday of 55 French commandos, who were withdrawn a day later.

Andorra's Political Status Paralyzes Reform

By James M. Markham

ANDORRA (NYT)—The principality of Andorra has in two decades rocketed from back to poverty to fabulous wealth, and in the process it has ruined its splendid mountain setting with urban sprawl and possibly has jeopardized its 700-year history of limited sovereignty.

Andorra's duty-free and virtually law-free status has been the reason for its prosperity. Cheap electronic gadgetry, video cassettes, pocket computers, Chivas Regal, French cheeses, Pierre Cardin styles and other discounted luxury items each year draw more than 7 million tourists, 4 million of them Spaniards, up its narrow valley between France and Spain.

Co-Princes Seven unregulated, secretive Andorran banks have pumped millions of dollars into a spectacular building boom, and they laundry Spanish pesetas moving to Switzerland and northern European currencies on their way to the Bahamas or other financial havens. Real-estate speculation, which made the initial fortunes of many of the principality's 3,000 citizens, is such that land values are measured by the palm of the hand; a "square palm" in the capital runs to \$70.

Duty-Free Principality Exhibits Fabulous Wealth, Urban Sprawl

Since 1278, when the count of Foix in France and the bishop of Urgel in Spain ended years of violent feuding by agreeing to guarantee Andorra's neutrality, the principality has had unique jurisdiction. It is a state, but its two co-princes, who today are the bishop and President Valery Giscard d'Estaing of France, control the judiciary and the 45-member police force, and can veto decisions of Andorra's elected 28-member General Council of the Valleys.

This peculiar arrangement kept Andorra's 190 square miles removed from the turmoil and wars of the last few centuries, but today it has led to political paralysis as younger Andorrans call for political change and an economic pause.

"We don't believe in the Andorra of the bazaar, which is today 100 percent of the country," said Jean Samarra, the 40-year-old mayor of Andorra. "This is an ultracapitalist economy and an ultratourist state, and this cannot last forever. I do not think there is another country in the world that has developed as brutally and quickly as Andorra."

Mr. Samarra and others want to remove what they say is the heavy hand of the co-princes, re-fashion a parish-based system of voting that overrepresents conservative rural areas, and give Andorra a strong, directly elected executive and some laws.

Clamish Politics The state has no penal code, no land register, no legislation regulating banks or foreign-owned companies and no customs service, and it sends its felons to jail in France or Spain. But proposals for change have run up against an ancient, clamish system of politics, and a splintering of authority between the council, the bishop of Urgel and France.

At Government House, Estanislau Sangra Font, 52, chief executive of the principality, insisted that the council was studying various reforms, some of which have been languishing for years.

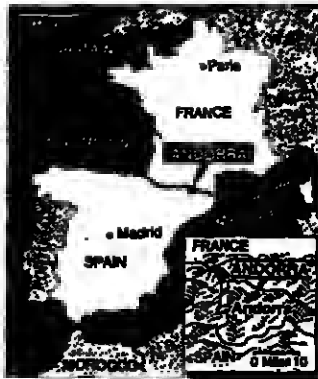
Spain's eventual entry into the European Economic Community will cut the price advantage enjoyed by merchants, and Andorrans say that their politicians are caught between a perception of a

need for reform and the hope that they can continue to prosper as things are. "The government is only interested in things that are profitable," a resident said.

Andorra's social security fund, which is reportedly invested in Switzerland, makes a profit because most of the 18,000 Spaniards working in the nation are too young to draw benefits from it. Fearful of being swamped by outsiders, the authorities have made it extremely difficult to establish legal residence, and foreign workers can be summarily dismissed with meager compensation. "We do not use the word 'union' here," whispered a Catalan from Barcelona who has attempted to organize outside workers. "That is a very dangerous word."

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NTT

Leaders Meet This Week to Discuss Mideast

Carter to Press Hussein to Join Talks

By John M. Goshko

WASHINGTON, June 15 (UPI) — President Carter plans to "use all the persuasive power that I have" to induce King Hussein of Jordan to join the Mideast peace talks when the two meet in Washington this week, the White House has revealed.

Mr. Carter made the promise in

an interview Friday with representatives of American Jewish newspapers. The text of the interview was made public yesterday.

To the disappointment of the United States, King Hussein has kept aloof from the U.S.-mediated Egyptian-Israeli negotiations on Palestinian autonomy. When the king visits for talks with Mr. Carter and other administration officials

Tuesday and Wednesday, Mr. Carter intends to bring up the call in the Camp David accords for Jordan to join with Israel and the Palestinians in determining the eventual status of the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

"I will certainly encourage King Hussein to join in these talks as soon as it's possible for him to agree to do so," Mr. Carter said. "His position has not been one of cooperation on the Camp David accords so far. One of the reasons that he states is that he was not adequately consulted before the terms of the Camp David accords were reached."

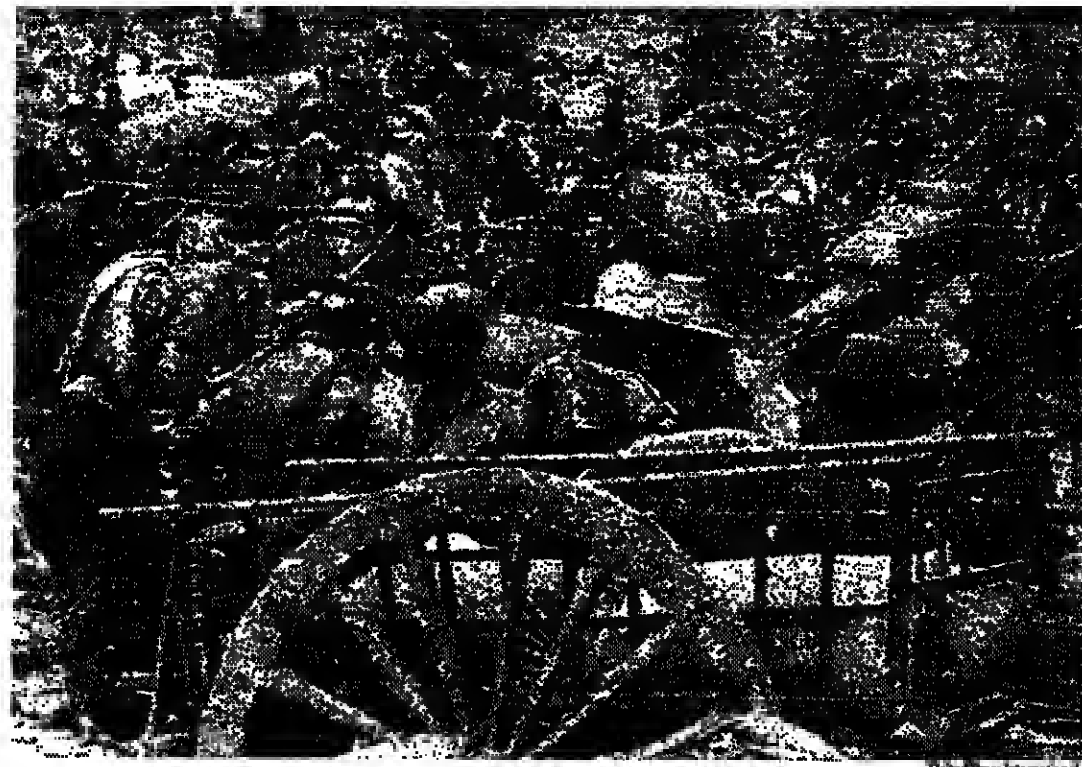
But this will be the first time I've met personally with King Hussein since Camp David, and I'll use all the persuasive power that I have to encourage him to be constructive in bringing about a comprehensive peace."

Need for Progress

The president also cited the need for progress on the current phase of the Camp David process: the attempt by Egypt and Israel to work out a five-year interim accord on limited self-government for the Palestinian inhabitants of the occupied territories. The chief negotiators — Interior Minister Yosef Burg of Israel, Defense Minister Kamal Hassan Ali of Egypt and U.S. special envoy Sol Linowitz — will meet in Washington July 2 and 3 in an effort to revive the deadlocked talks.

Mr. Carter said the lack of movement in the autonomy talks was the principal reason that the nine-nation European Economic Community issued a statement in Venice on Friday calling for the Palestine Liberation Organization to be associated in some way with the Mideast peace process.

In regard to the most controversial issue in the talks — the insistence of Prime Minister Menachem Begin's government on establishing Jewish settlements in the occupied territories — Mr. Carter repeated that the United States remains firmly opposed to Israeli policy.



Thousands of peasants, with their ox carts, from the Battambang and Siem Reap areas of western Cambodia await distribution of rice seeds by the Catholic Relief Services at Nong Chan.

Vietnam's Objections Seen Responsible

UN Delays Move of Refugees to Cambodia

By Henry Kamm

BANGKOK, June 15 (NYT) — A mass repatriation of Cambodian refugees from Thailand, scheduled to begin tomorrow, has been indefinitely postponed at the request of the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the commissioner's regional office here announced today.

Informed diplomats suggested that the postponement was connected with a visit to Hanoi by the regional representative of the UN body, Zia Rizi. Mr. Rizi could not be reached for comment because, returning from Hanoi via Vietnam, he was briefly delayed by Thai immigration authorities and missed his plane from the Thai provincial town of Udorn to Bangkok.

The planned repatriation has been bitterly condemned by Hanoi and the pro-Vietnamese Cambodian government as a Thai, Chinese and U.S. plot to bolster the anti-Pol Pot forces active near Cambodia's border with Thailand. It was assumed by knowledgeable diplomats that Hanoi strongly put its objections to Mr. Rizi, causing him to hold up the move.

Relief agencies and refugee workers have also expressed concern about the planned repatriation, which corresponds with the wishes of Thai authorities who are fearful that the presence of about 160,000 Cambodians in refugee holding centers threatens to become long-lasting.

Two Concerns

The international groups are worried on two grounds: One is concern that Cambodia, still in the throes of warfare and famine, is incapable of providing basic security and minimal welfare for refugees returning there. Amid the confusion and the many conflicting reports reaching the refugee camps, it is doubtful that the refugees choosing to return would do so with a full understanding of the hardships awaiting them.

The other cause for widespread concern is the question of how voluntary a repatriation would be. In one camp at Sakao, which shelters about 20,000 Cambodians, the dominant group is a nucleus of faithful and militant followers of the regime of the deposed premier, Pol Pot.

Despite an international presence, it is taken for granted that the Pol Pot group has recreated at Sakao conditions similar to the deposed premier's reign in Cambodia. The Pol Pot elements have intimidated the majority of camp inmates and guaranteeing that freedom of

choice for those wishing to liberate themselves from the group's control is expected to be a difficult task.

The Pol Pot leadership wants to return to participate in the struggle against the Vietnamese occupation army, and the anti-Pol Pot refugees in the camp are fearful of being dragged along against their will.

Camp in Middle

The largest refugee camp, Khao I Dang, where about 135,000 Cambodians are living, largely contains

anti-Pol Pot and anti-Vietnamese refugees.

Those among them who want to return, believed to be a small minority, want to do so to rejoin their families still in Cambodia or outside the Thai border. Others are fearful that the Thai authorities may make efforts to persuade them to return.

UN officials hope that the safeguards to assure the voluntary nature of any movement that they have arranged with the local Thai military will be fully applied.

Ex-General's Call to Rearm Spurs Japan Election Issue

By Henry Scott Stokes

TOKYO, June 15 (NYT) — Hiroomi Kurisu, former chairman of the Japanese Joint Chiefs of Staff, is running for the Diet (parliament) in next Sunday's general election on a one-plank platform of rearmament.

"There's nothing to fear," Mr. Kurisu said in a speech the other

day, "Japan will never become a military power again."

"After all, just look at how much we spend on defense," said the former general, who has a penchant for statistics. "Japan's total arms output is equivalent to only 0.37 percent of GNP."

Defense is the one issue that separates parties — and sometimes also candidates within a party — in the election, which may help to determine the rate at which Japan rearms in the 1980s.

All parties, from the governing Liberal Democrats to the Communists, agree that the economy needs a boost. There is also general agreement that something must be done about the educational system, which subjects high school students to competitive university examinations that drive a small minority to suicide.

Party Support

Mr. Kurisu is fighting his first campaign for the upper house of the Diet as a Democratic Socialist, and party leader Ryosaku Sasaki has fully backed Mr. Kurisu's candidacy.

Mr. Kurisu believes that arms expenditures should be increased to meet a supposed Soviet threat to Japanese security. Japan spends less than 1 percent of its gross national product on defense, compared with 3 to 6 percent in the Western industrial democracies, according to the official Defense Agency.

"We have to make our contribution to world peace," said Mr. Kurisu, who was dismissed as chairman of the Joint Chiefs two years ago for advocating emergency powers for the military. He argued that the army must have the right to strike back at once if attacked, without prior approval from the premier, who is the commander in chief.

Position Attacked

In the Tokyo constituency where he is running, most candidates have attacked Mr. Kurisu's platform.

Tokuwa Utsunomiya, who was for many years a leftist Liberal Democrat but who is running against Mr. Kurisu as an independent, said, "Spending more on defense will just make life harder for ordinary people."

"Even the Liberal Democrats wouldn't take him on as a candidate," said Koichiro Ueda, candidate of the Communist Party. "He's just too much of a hawk."

The governing party backs Ken Yasui, speaker of the upper house, whose views reflect the party line although he is an independent. "We have our security treaty with the United States," he said, "but we have to do our share in defense too."

Soviet Rights Abuses Protested in Paris

PARIS, June 15 (AP) — About 300 French intellectuals and Soviet dissidents staged a footrace around the Soviet Embassy here today to protest human rights violations in the Soviet Union.

Soviet dissident Vladimir Bukovski — who was joined in the protest by playwright Eugene Ionesco, philosopher-journalist Raymond Aron, philosopher Bernard Henri-Lévy and fellow dissident Edward Koudriatsev among others — placed a wreath dedicated to the spirit of the Olympic Games in front of the embassy. The Olympics will be held this summer in Moscow.

WORLD NEWS BRIEF

India Arrests 1,400 After Rioting in Tripura

NEW DELHI, June 15 (UPI) — Troops and police have arrested persons in the northeastern state of Tripura where hundreds died in long ethnic riots, officials in the state capital of Agartala said yesterday.

Paramilitary forces are combing the countryside to flush out tribesmen spearheading a movement to evict Bengali settlers from the state, the officials said. The tribesmen claim that their native cult being eroded by the immigrants from Bangladesh, who outnumber native population.

The officials said that 315 persons died in the clashes. The Sun newspaper, quoting official sources in Agartala, said that an estimated 1,000 persons were killed, more than 500 injured and about 150,000 homeless during the disturbances which flared up June 6.

Morocco to Fight OAU Admission of Polisario

NAIROBI, June 15 (Reuters) — The issue of recognition for the Western Sahara Polisario Front, firmly opposed by Morocco, is expected to open the annual meeting of the Organization of African Unity, which begins Wednesday in Freetown, Sierra Leone, Western diplomats said here.

The meeting will involve a ministerial session followed by a summit meeting at the beginning of July.

The Algeria-backed Polisario guerrillas, who are fighting for the independence of the Moroccan-controlled Western Sahara, claim the status of almost half the OAU's 50 members for the admission of the group they have proclaimed. The OAU charter says admission shall be simple majority of member states in the council of ministers, but Morocco is expected to argue that, because the Polisario does not represent a sign state, the issue must be referred to the heads of state, where a two-thirds majority would be required.

9 Nuclear Foes Held in Ship Raid in Belgium

ZEEBRUGGE, Belgium, June 15 (AP) — Nine persons were arrested after anti-nuclear protesters boarded a Dutch freighter here early and destroyed communications equipment aboard the vessel, which was scheduled to dump a cargo of radioactive waste into the Atlantic Ocean.

Officials said that five protesters armed with iron bars had boarded the 1,599-ton Andrea Smits and ruined the ship's automatic radar and radio equipment. Damage was estimated at about \$667,000.

During the incident, the protesters fought a brief battle with members of the crew and police officers guarding the ship. Four policemen and the attackers were injured. Later in the day, police arrested four persons. All were said to belong to a Brussels-based, French-speaking nuclear group.

Spain Sets Conditions for NATO Membership

MADRID, June 15 (UPI) — Foreign Minister Marcelino Oreja today said Spain will apply for membership in NATO, possibly in 1981, but he conditioned the move on Britain's return of Gibraltar and Spanish admission on schedule into the Common Market.

In a weekend dinner with foreign journalists and a Sunday interview with the newspaper El Pais, Mr. Oreja also said that he would begin on renewing U.S. base facilities in Spain before the November presidential elections in the United States. The facilities treaty expires in 1981.

Stressing Spain's total commitment to Europe, Mr. Oreja said, "A of European solidarity toward Spain would not allow our country to the Western defense organization. It would be absurd to think that could join NATO if Europe did not support us in matters vital to us."

Volcanic Ash Causes Oregon Pollution Alert

PORTLAND, Ore., June 15 (UPI) — Volcanic ash raised by wind vehicles led to a pollution alert in northwestern Oregon yesterday, police advised motorists to stay off two highways from Portland to the Pacific Ocean because of poor visibility and slippery, wet ash in the rain.

The ash fallout from Mount St. Helens contributed to two fatal accidents in the Portland area, police said, and Mayor Connie McGinnis imposed a 15-mph speed limit in an effort to reduce the amount of ash raised.

The ash blanketed northwestern Oregon late Thursday night and Friday. Heavy rain on Friday reduced problems, but the showers started early yesterday and by afternoon much of it had dried.

Switzerland Backs Nuclear Sale to Argentina

BERN, June 15 (Reuters) — A Swiss engineering firm has received a permit to export a heavy-water plant worth about \$30 million to Argentina, the Transport and Power Ministry said.

It said that the Buenos Aires government had assured that Argentina would not try to develop nuclear weapons from the plant, ed technology or the heavy water produced — which is to be used to nuclear power plants. Sulzer Brothers of Winterthur had signed the deal with Argentina in March.

The United States was reported to have expressed fears that the guards against nuclear weapons proliferation attached to the sale would be too strict, but the announcement yesterday said that Argentina would let the Swiss that it would allow inspectors from the International Atomic Energy Agency to check that the plant was being used exclusively for peaceful purposes.

Secret Report Says Poland Faces Deep National Crisis

(Continued from Page 1)

We have in our country, in the first place, of social and political character."

Among the causes cited are a feeling that the system is incompetent, out of control and layered with bureaucracy; a total lack of belief in the government and news media; suspicions toward the Soviet Union exacerbated by "servile, insulating" propaganda; a scarcity of meat and inequality in various aspects of social life, including career advancement, legal protection and the award of such perquisites as villas and limousines to high party officials.

Of the government, the report says "the loss of credibility is more dangerous than the lack of popularity." Distrust of the press is described as "bordering on the neurotic."

The report outlines general and specific suggestions "to the trust of society and religious instincts," which, it says, "make clear, the government's duty to respond."

They include an acknowledgment that the country is in an open discussion of problems, the end of arbitrary censorship, equal relationship with the Union, concessions to the agrarian reform, a strong parliament, honest elections, elimination of privileges.

French, Iranians Achieve Accord On Consortium

PARIS, June 15 (Reuters) — France and Iran have reached a framework agreement to settle their dispute over Iranian participation in the Eurodif uranium enrichment consortium, Iranian delegation sources said today.

The sources did not disclose financial details of the agreement but said that, under the new accord, Iran would continue to purchase a reduced amount of enriched uranium from the Eurodif plant in Tricastin, southern France, and would retain its full share in the consortium's capital.

The dispute began last year when Iran announced a substantial reduction of its nuclear program. The government of the deposed shah had planned to build 40 nuclear power plants, including at least 10 fueled by Eurodif.

In Tehran, meanwhile, published reports indicated that at least 16 persons had been executed in Iran during the past two days for a variety of offenses, including drug charges.

EEC Action Could Help Carter in Mideast Efforts

(Continued from Page 1)

will be to prevent a negotiating vacuum in the Middle East peace consultations, to step up pressure on Israel for moderation and to encourage the moderate factions of the PLO.

The Europeans' most urgent goal is to prevent the negotiating vacuum while the Carter administration is busy with the U.S. presidential election.

Increasing frustration among Palestinians and moderate Arab governments could threaten Western oil supplies. European policymakers also are motivated by wider geopolitical concerns. "Trying to mobilize Arab and Moslem support on Iran and Afghanistan and against Soviet expansionism," a top West German official said, "we cannot succeed unless we give some support to Arabs and Moslems on the main issues they care about: the Palestinians and Jerusalem."

European View

His comment reflected a fundamental European analysis that Western interests in the Middle East can best be defended against internal instability and the Soviet threat if the West removes the Palestinian grievance. U.S. policy, in contrast, traditionally has held the view that Israel, as a pro-Western military bastion, could deter Soviet military pressure on the Middle East.

Anxious to reassure Arab opinion about European sympathy on the need for an Israeli solution, European governments publicly expressed their growing irritation with the Israeli government and with the apparent inability of the United States to restrain Prime Minister Menachem Begin.

A West German policy-maker said: "Somebody has got to tell the Israelis, and Jewish opinion, that many of their policies, notably the settlements, are unhelpful." He added: "If America cannot do it, Europe will have to."

Although officials are reluctant to discuss it, the Europeans plan closer contacts with Mr. Begin's political opposition, the Israeli Labor Party, probably through European Social Democratic parties. This reflects a growing European belief that Mr. Begin is incapable of reasonable compromise. Similarly, Egypt's main political party will gain observer status this week in the Socialist International, an organization where it can have direct contacts with the Israeli Labor Party. Egypt's government can only deal officially with Mr. Begin's government.

Diplomatic Points

The Palestinians — and the PLO — scored diplomatic points in the Venice declaration but they gained few practical benefits. The PLO already had official contacts with Western European governments, and most European governments had recognized the Palestinians' right to self-determination.

The Europeans' collective reaffirmation of these points, however, was timely for PLO leader Yasser Arafat. Lacking any guarantees of eventual Israeli concessions, Mr. Arafat's organization remains split. PLO hard-liners imposed a recent policy statement calling for Israel's destruction but Mr. Arafat succeeded at the same meeting in packing the leadership with his own followers, who are believed to want to negotiate a settlement with Israel.

West European interest is expected to reinforce Mr. Arafat's commitment to diplomacy rather than terrorism, and to help counter the influence of the Soviet Union in the PLO in the coming months.

A main goal of European diplomatic contacts with the PLO, planned under the Venice declaration, will be to seek language enabling the PLO to recognize Israel, a precondition for strong support from European governments or the United States.

The obstacles to achieving this PLO concession were one reason why the European statement, as adopted, was watered down. The United States, Egypt and Israel all had lobbied against any European move that might weaken the diplomatic pressure on the PLO to recognize Israel, diplomats say.

Egypt argued that any step undermining the Camp David peace agreements might allow Israel to delay indefinitely in joining any new peace talks, thus worsening Middle East tensions. The Carter administration also applied maximum diplomatic pressure against a European challenge to the Camp David peace formula, which President Carter regards as his chief foreign policy achievement, in an election year.

As a result, Europe refrained from the moves that had been widely predicted by British and French commentators. The EEC shelved ideas for modifying UN Security Council Resolution 242 — which calls for Israeli withdrawal from occupied areas but does not propose Palestinian self-determination — or recognizing the PLO as the Palestinians' sole spokesman or calling for a Palestinian state.

In return, European officials say, they expect more U.S. appreciation for the need to work with the Arabs to bolster the Western position in the Middle East.

Israel Strongly Condemns EEC Middle East Initiative

(Continued from Page 1)

of a meeting with Mr. Begin and did not attend the ministers' regular session. Israeli radio reported tonight that the two had argued over Mr. Hurvitz's requested budget cuts for the Defense Ministry, which Mr. Begin now heads. They were expected to meet again tomorrow.

UN Sanctions Urged

DAMASCUS, June 15 (UPI) — The PLO joined other hard-line Palestinian guerrilla groups and Syria today in rejecting the EEC statement. In Beirut, an Arab League official dismissed the EEC declaration as "inadequate and insufficient" and said the Arabs will now turn to the UN General Assembly to seek sanctions against Israel — and possibly Israel's expulsion from the world body.

The PLO's Executive Committee met through last night under the chairmanship of Yasser Arafat, and in a statement issued today rejected the EEC's approach on Middle East peace.

"The PLO rejects the EEC communique," a PLO spokesman told reporters. The PLO statement called on Western Europe to "adopt a more independent attitude toward the rights of the Palestinian people."

Clovis Makoud, who heads the Arab League mission in the United States and is the league's permanent

Bern, Bonn Link Highway Systems

BASEL, Switzerland, June 15 (AP) — The highway networks of West Germany and Switzerland were linked with the formal opening this weekend of a road section and customs station at Weil-am-Rhein north of Basel.

Built at a cost of 262 million Swiss francs (about \$162.3 million) — the Swiss part was 175 million francs (about \$108.4 million) — the installation allows motorists from northern West Germany to drive to central Switzerland without leaving the expressways.

"We're not trying to keep the PLO out," Mr. Muskie said. "We're trying to make clear to the PLO that until it changes its position with regard to Resolution 242, which it has never supported, and recognizes Israel's right to exist, we will not deal with it."

Ottawa Chafes at Inaction on Fish Pact

Dispute Strains Canada-U.S. Relations

By Henry Giniger

OTTAWA, June 15 (NYT) — A dispute over scallops and other marine matters is prompting Canada to consider ways not to cooperate with its neighbor and closest ally, the United States.

The principal contention is a fisheries treaty, which was signed more than a year ago after laborious negotiations and is now languishing in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, with poor prospects of early approval.

Mark MacGuigan, Canada's secretary of state for external affairs, indicated in an recent interview how annoyed Ottawa is by the U.S. failure to follow through on what was a difficult compromise between U.S. and Canadian fishing interests.

"The fisheries issue is not only the most serious bilateral issue we have with the United States," he said. "It is the most serious bilateral issue we have with any country."

Diplomats familiar with the discussions between the two neighbors on a vast range of issues have noted how the fisheries problem is beginning to affect relations in general, with Canadian representatives frequently injecting it into discussions on other questions.

Linkage of Issues

"It's pretty hard for there not to be linkage of issues on something of this kind," Mr. MacGuigan said. "I will not speculate any further as to possible linkages at this time but there are likely to be linkages."

Asked whether the linkages would involve matters on which

Washington sought Ottawa's support, the secretary said, "That would be the only effective kind of linkage."

Traditionally the two countries have avoided linking unrelated issues as a way of applying pressure on each other, so the minister's reference to linkage appeared to represent an unusual threat. Items of cooperation under discussion concern a gas pipeline, measures to halt acid rain, a pact on auto imports and exports, and a dispute on the West Coast over the desire of U.S. fishing fleets to catch tuna in Canadian waters.

Canada has lined up behind the United States on the boycott of the Moscow Olympics and on economic sanctions against Iran, but it is pointed out that Washington frequently calls for support from Canada and other allies on world problems.

Outspoken Criticism

Mr. MacGuigan, a 49-year-old lawyer who was appointed to his first Cabinet post in February after spending 12 years on the Liberal backbenches in the House of Commons, recently caused a stir here with outspoken criticism of the United States on other matters, alleging a lack of consultation and coordination on world issues.

The strains between Ottawa and Washington contrast sharply with the euphoria of a few months ago, when the Canadian Embassy in Tehran spirited six U.S. diplomats from the country. An outpouring of American gratitude toward Canada

Budget Process at Issue

Committee in House
Lays Out Steps Guidelines

By Richard L. Lyons

WASHINGTON, June 15 (WP) — A day after Congress finally passed a budget resolution, the House Appropriations Committee balked at the task of moving out next money bills now that the House has made to trim the Postal Service's funds to fit the budget by cutting Saturday mail.

The House Appropriations Committee, which is the House's chief budget-writing body, is expected to start moving out next money bills now that the House has made to trim the Postal Service's funds to fit the budget by cutting Saturday mail.

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Carter Aide Back on Top — for Now

By Martin Schram

WASHINGTON, June 15 (WP) — The White House inner circle is a wheel of fortune, and Jack Watson has just ridden it full circle.

He is back at the top — where he thought he was when he first caught hold of the wheel in the heavy days of Carter transition planning, back before Hamilton Jordan quietly engineered his fall from grace. He is back as chief of staff, the interior replacement for Mr. Jordan. And although it is just for a while, he is happy to be there.

"Helloooooo!" Mr. Watson bellowed into the White House's Roosevelt Room, bubbling a greeting to all, his feet barely

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brushing the carpet, his trademark grin even broader and friendlier than usual.

Beginning tomorrow, Mr. Watson will preside over the daily 10 a.m. meetings the president has with the most senior of his advisers. But until now, he had not even been among the half-dozen regulars, although he was official by part of that top bracket who have the title assistant to the president and the \$59,000 salary that goes with it.

The Watson fall and rise offers a worthwhile look at pressures within the Carter high command. "You've got powerful 'turf' instincts operating all the time in government," Mr. Watson observed during his Roosevelt Room interview Friday with reporters.

"The instant among government workers for turf is about 100 times what it is among gorillas."

There was a time, back in the pre-inaugural days of transition, that life among the gorillas must have begun looking mighty good to Mr. Watson. That was just after he had tried to stake out his own turf in the Carter hierarchy — and instead wound up having to look up to inspect it.

"What happened to me in the transition was a classic Greek tragedy," he would say later. "I do not think, in retrospect, that there was anything I could have done to prevent what happened."

Mr. Watson, 41, was a bright young partner in the Atlanta law firm of Charles Kirby. Mr. Carter's close friend and father figure, at his recommendation during the fall campaign of 1976,



President Carter, left, talks with Jack Watson, the temporary White House chief of staff, Saturday in Washington.

Mr. Carter had Mr. Watson get to work on planning for the transition and the structure of the White House to follow. Mr. Jordan, meanwhile, was directing the campaign.

"The president named me director of the transition — and that was awful," Mr. Watson said. "For me it was a lethal choice. . . I sort of conceived that Hamilton would not get involved in the planning — that he was a political strategic planner, but wouldn't be involved in the overall transition planning. And that was deadly."

After Mr. Carter's election, Mr. Watson set up a transition office with a 50-member force, he gave Mr. Jordan a staff of one secretary. Mr. Jordan did not take kindly to the arrangement.

By the time he finished the transition job, Mr. Watson had all he could do just to hang onto

his own spoke in the inner circle and go along for the ride. "Never again," Mr. Watson said Friday, "as long as I live, under any circumstance, will I have anything to do with directing a transition."

He was left with being the president's liaison to state and local governments and of being the secretary to the Cabinet. He rode back into the good graces of the White House by applying the talents that, in years past, had made him all-environment among his peers.

At Boy's State, he was elected governor; at Vanderbilt, he was elected president of four fraternities and honor societies; the Atlanta Jaycees named him one of their five outstanding young men; the Marine Corps School at Quantico and the Army Airborne School at Fort Benning listed him as an honor graduate.

In the White House, his strengths were Mr. Jordan's weaknesses. He never became a subject of public controversy. He returned telephone calls. He had a ready smile, a kind word and sympathetic ear for every governor and mayor and state legislator — who, in turn, would always tell the president what a wonderful fellow Mr. Watson was. Along the way, Mr. Watson mastered the Dale Carnegie technique for winning friends by dropping their names into every conversational reply. He never misses.

Mr. Watson is functioning as chief of staff only because Mr. Jordan is formally taking command of the election strategy that he has, in fact, been shaping from the White House all along. He concedes the job will revert to Mr. Jordan once the election is over — and if it is won.

Still, he is emphatic about how he is going to be his own man, even taking a velvet-gloved knock at his predecessor: "To be sure, my operation of that [chief of staff] role will be different from Hamilton's."

"Our inclinations and interests are somewhat different. . . I think we can always do a better job of selecting a president and seeing to it that those priorities and issues are very well staffed before they get to the president."

To many of the president's advisers, the designation of Mr. Watson as chief of staff does not truly mean that Mr. Jordan has left. "Hamilton will still be around," said one Carter adviser. Others believe Mr. Watson was named in part because, since he was not part of that wheel within the inner circle, he will not be a threat to others.

Decisions during a fall campaign are political as well as policy ones — should the president give a speech on energy, or blast Congress, or give no speech at all? Yet Mr. Watson minimizes the role Mr. Jordan will have in White House decisions. "I don't think Hamilton will be called upon to evaluate the president's statement on energy," he said.

Among the training Mr. Watson brought with him to the White House, according to his official biography, was an early 1960s stint at the military's Escape, Evasion and Survival School. "That has great relevance to this whole situation," Mr. Watson said, laughing. "It was probably the best training for this job."

Renewed Ties Would Threaten U.S., Peking Relations

Chinese Media Rebuke Reagan for Taiwan Stand

By Linda Mathews

PEKING, June 15 (LAT) — China attacked Ronald Reagan by name yesterday, warning that the Republican front-runner's support for restoration of official ties between the United States and Taiwan could wreck the foundation of Chinese-U.S. relations.

Mr. Reagan "intends to turn back the clock and conduct American foreign policy as if there were two Chinas" in direct violation of the joint communiqué issued when Washington granted Peking diplomatic recognition 18 months ago, the People's Daily newspaper charged in a prominently displayed commentary.

At the time of normalization, the Carter administration agreed to shut down its embassy on Taiwan, to switch diplomatic recognition to Peking, to withdraw U.S. troops from Taiwan and to abrogate its longstanding mutual defense treaty with the Nationalist regime there. The administration has followed through — only commercial and cultural contacts with Taipei remain, under the supervision of the American Institute in Taiwan, a non-governmental body.

Chinese displeasure at the prospect of a Reagan presidency has been mounting since he denounced normalization as an "outright betrayal" of Taiwan in December, 1978. Until now, Chinese sentiment had been expressed only in off-the-record conversations between Chinese officials and foreigners. Yesterday's attack surprised even longtime foreign residents of Peking, who could not remember another time when the People's Daily appeared to be taking sides in an election abroad.

Similar Critique

A similar critique of Mr. Reagan's China policy was transmitted in English yesterday by the official Chinese news agency, giving the protest extra weight. The agency said ordinarily it would not comment on domestic U.S. politics, but that because Mr. Reagan's policies "involve the Chinese question of Taiwan and betray a desire to turn back the wheel of history, we cannot let his statements pass."

What apparently touched off the protests were remarks Mr. Reagan made in Detroit last month in which he denounced the administration's treatment of Taiwan, particularly the closing of the U.S. Embassy there, and indicated the Nationalists could expect a better deal from a Republican president.

He specifically endorsed the restoration of "official relations" with Taiwan, saying, "I want to have the best relations with the Republic of China, the free Republic of China, know that we consider them an ally and that we have official relations with them."

"When we had an embassy in Taiwan, we had a liaison office in Peking. And when President Carter saw fit to throw our longtime ally Taiwan over the side, the liaison office exists now in Taiwan."

Mr. Reagan indicated dissatisfaction with the status of the U.S. liaison office in Taiwan. "This liaison office is unofficial, it is not governmental," he said. "It is a private kind of foundation thing. . . I would make it an official liaison office so [the people of Taiwan] know they had a governmental relation."

"Everybody Knows . . ."

In its commentary, the newspaper said: "Everybody knows that the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States . . . is based on the principle that the United States

recognizes only one China, and Taiwan is a part of China."

Any move to again treat the Nationalist Chinese regime on Taiwan as a sovereign government would mean that "the foundation underlying the normalization of Sino-American relations would be thoroughly destroyed," the paper declared.

Rather than reviving old disputes over Taiwan, China and the United States ought to work together more closely to counter Soviet expansionism, the paper said. With the Russians and their allies on the move from Afghanistan to Cambodia and with the world situation tense, it

Reagan Keeps Brock as Party Chairman

By Robert Lindsey

LOS ANGELES, June 15 (NYT) — Bowing to pressure from party moderates, Ronald Reagan has agreed to retain Bill Brock as chairman of the Republican National Committee. The decision averted the possibility of a split in the party a month before its U.S. national convention.

At a joint news conference on Friday, Mr. Reagan and Mr. Brock said that Drew Lewis, a Republican national committeeman from Pennsylvania and the Reagan campaign's chairman for that state, would take a new post as deputy chairman of the Republican National Committee.

"Lewis will be second in command at the RNC and its chief operating officer," the Reagan campaign office said.

Mr. Brock said that he had agreed to remain as chairman through the general election and would decide then whether he would stay on the job.

Own Man

Sen. Paul Laxalt of Nevada, Mr. Reagan's campaign chairman, and other advisers to the former California governor had urged him to pick his own man, a conservative, for the job.

But, Reagan aides said that a number of Republican leaders from around the country had appealed to him last week not to push Mr. Brock out, saying that it could harm efforts to unify the party in preparation for the election, and that he had accepted their advice.

Mr. Reagan met Mr. Brock here before the first of a national series of so-called unity dinners designed to raise funds for losing candidates during the Republican primaries.

Members of the national committee are to elect the party chairman on July 19, the day after the convention in Detroit ends. By tradition, committee members elect a chairman designated by the party's presidential nominee, a role that now seems assured for Mr. Reagan.

Frictions between Sen. Laxalt and Mr. Brock developed in 1977, when the Nevada senator helped lead a fight to block ratification of the Panama Canal treaties and Mr.

Brock turned down a request for \$50,000 of party funds for the campaign.

Relations between the Reagan staff and the national committee have also been strained because of comments made by Mr. Brock's deputy, Mary Crisp, an outspoken proponent of the Equal Rights Amendment, which Mr. Reagan opposes, and Mr. Brock's hiring of two aides whom Mr. Reagan fired last winter.

Sen. Laxalt and some of Mr. Reagan's other advisers have argued that Mr. Reagan should put a person in the job with more conservative credentials and who could be assured of greater loyalty to him than Mr. Brock.

But this move was interpreted by some Republican leaders as the beginning of an effort to purge moderates from the national party leadership and replace them with conservative hard-liners.

Other advisers urged Mr. Reagan to keep Mr. Brock in the name of party unity, and late last month Mr. Reagan said he expected Mr. Brock to stay on the job.

However, some of Mr. Reagan's conservative advisers continued to press for the change and reports emerged from the Reagan camp last week that Mr. Brock was on his way out. The reports prompted a number of calls to Mr. Reagan at his ranch near Santa Barbara from Republican leaders who urged him not to risk a party split by getting rid of Mr. Brock.

Among those who appealed to Mr. Reagan were governors Pierre Du Pont IV of Delaware and Lamar Alexander of Tennessee; Senate Republican leader Howard Baker Jr.; Sen. John Heinz 3d of Pennsylvania; Sen. Harrison Schmitt of New Mexico; Sen. John Danforth Jr. of Missouri; and Rep. Guy Vander Jagt of Michigan.

At the news conference, Mr. Reagan said that he had received eight or 10 telegrams urging him to keep Mr. Brock and four or five phone calls. He sought to characterize recent reports on the Laxalt-Brock split as exaggerated.

Pressed to explain why Sen. Laxalt had told several reporters of his unhappiness about Mr. Brock, Mr. Reagan asserted that he had made the comments only because he felt that the Republican nominee had a right to designate his own chairman of the national committee.

W. German Suspect

Surrenders to Police

KARLSRUHE, West Germany, June 15 (UPI) — A West German sought for allegedly participating in a bomb attack against the mayor of Mainz in June, 1978, yesterday gave himself up to police on duty at a pop concert, authorities said.

Rudolf Raabe, 28, is alleged to have been a member of a splinter group of the Baader-Meinhof gang, which made terrorist attacks in West Germany in the 1970s. He told the West German magazine Stern in an interview last year in Ireland that he would return to West Germany if he could receive hospital treatment for his serious kidney infection before standing trial.

Threat to Arms Limit

Senate Panel's Move
Jeopardizes SALT-2

By Michael Getler

WASHINGTON, June 15 (WP) — The Senate Armed Services Committee, acting on its own, has authorized adding 100 multiple-warhead Minuteman-3 missiles to the 550 already deployed, a move that could lead to the collapse of the U.S.-Soviet strategic arms limitation talks.

The prospect that such a move could become what is being called a "SALT breaker" lies in its potential for pushing the United States above the ceiling of 1,200 multiple-warhead carrying missiles that is set for such weapons in the unratified but not yet abandoned SALT-2 agreement.

A senior administration official said Friday, "We are very concerned about it because it will make it much more difficult for both sides to observe SALT."

In order for the committee action to actually take effect, it will have to survive Senate approval and then be approved by the House, which made no similar amendment. It would also then have to go through the congressional appropriations process before the money could be spent.

Action Opposed

The committee action was opposed in closed-door hearings by Defense Secretary Harold Brown and Air Force Chief of Staff Gen. Lew Allen. Administration officials see the move as primarily an effort by a small number of conservative lawmakers to damage chances for an eventual SALT-2 agreement.

The sponsor of the amendment was Sen. Gordon Humphrey, R-N.H., who takes a hardline view toward Moscow on defense matters. Sen. Humphrey, according to his associates, believes the measure will "send a signal to the Soviets that the United States is reversing its strategic decline."

The United States has had 1,000 Minuteman intercontinental ballistic missiles deployed since the early 1970s; 550 of them are the Minuteman-3 variety. These carry three atomic bombs and are the most accurate and lethal weapon in the U.S. arsenal. The other 450 are the Minuteman-2 variety and carry a single warhead.

Sen. Humphrey's measure was approved by the committee in a 13-to-4 vote. All seven Republican members backed it, as did six of the 10 Democrats.

The panel's action came in a closed-door session earlier last week as the committee was completing work on the Pentagon's overall \$51.9-billion weapons procurement bill for fiscal 1981.

Missiles in Storage

Though Minuteman is no longer in production, 128 Minuteman-3 are in storage and are meant primarily for testing. Under the committee plan, 100 of these would replace Minuteman-2 missiles in their silos. Deployment could start by mid-

1981. The swap would cost \$44 million, the first \$10 million of which was authorized by the committee last week.

Critics argue that it does not make sense to sink more money and missiles into the silos that the Pentagon already has testified are becoming increasingly vulnerable to Soviet attack.

As for SALT-2, if the United States deployed these missiles and continued with the planned deployment of the new intermediate-range missiles into the silos that the United States would either be over the 1,200 launcher ceiling or would have to retire some weapons — such as additional submarine-launched Poseidon missiles — that it is not now planning to retire. The United States has 496 multiple-warhead missiles aboard Poseidon submarines.

The Minuteman measure was the committee's second controversial move concerning the U.S. strategic arsenal.

The panel also approved \$1.55 billion to continue development of 200 mobile MX intercontinental missiles, which are meant to be the land-based missile of the future.

But an amendment allowing only half the 4,600 silos to be built, at least initially, in Utah and Nevada is troubling the Pentagon. The original plan called for all missiles to be located within a single huge tract of government land in those states.

The amendment, meant to ease public opposition in those states, requires the Air Force to study alternative sites an report back to the committee by Feb. 1, 1981. Pentagon and administration officials feel it will not be easy politically to find other places and that, if new sites can be found, it is certain to add the \$30 billion to \$40 billion project.

What bothers the Pentagon most is what it sees as ambiguous language, now on the record, that does not make it clear what will happen if the Air Force cannot find acceptable alternatives.

Some administration officials feel that the amendment, though meant to preserve MX through compromise, may wind up killing it.

S. Korea Denies Visa
To Miss South Africa

SEOUL, June 15 (AP) — Miss South Africa and three other South African beauty contestants have been denied visas to compete in the Miss Universe competition scheduled for July 8 in Seoul, the newspaper Hankook Ilbo reported today.

The paper, which sponsors the pageant, quoted the South Korean Foreign Ministry as saying that the women were denied visas because of South Africa's racial segregation policies. A championship prizefight recently was called off in South Korea because the challenger was from South Africa and was denied a visa.

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Cannes: 39.26.86 - Lyon: 28.60.24 - Paris: 26.64.34 - Madrid: 24.61.04 - Barcelona: 215.01.00
Palma de Majorca: 21.41.67 - Stockholm: 32.27.13 - Copenhagen: 12.25.46 - Rotterdam: 11.18.10
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Manchester: 228.3607 - Leeds: 355.36 and 58 other centers in Europe.

Interferon Could Be Effective Against Cancer

Major Research Committed to Anti-Virus Substance

By Lee Lescaze

WASHINGTON, June 15 (UPI) — Scientific laboratories around the world are racing to produce interferon, a natural virus-fighting protein that eventually may be used to treat cancer and that is among the most expensive substances in the world.

A pound of pure interferon would cost \$22 billion to produce by today's methods, according to the American Cancer Society, and until last year, a single Finnish laboratory produced virtually the world's entire supply: 0.14 ounces, extracted from 90,000 pints of human blood.

Although the drug is still far from a proven cure for cancer, the selling of interferon is under way. "People who get into manufacturing this can't lose," said Dr. Frank Rauscher, the American Cancer Society's vice president for research. "Even if it fails in its cancer trials, it is an antiviral drug of choice."

In the late 1940s, the successful purification and mass manufacture of penicillin transformed the drug industry. Many scientists believe that interferon will be similarly revolutionary.

World Market

The IMS pharmaceutical market letter published an analysis last month by the investment firm Baehe Halsey Stuart Shields that estimated the world market for interferon at \$2.96 billion in 1989, an astonishing figure for a product still in the research stage. Other analysts believe it will take much longer for the interferon market to grow, however.

From its discovery in 1957 by two researchers in Britain who set out to learn why a human being almost never gets more than one virus at a time, interferon has captured the imagination of scientists and laymen.

Despite interferon's apparent success against every virus that it has been tested on, research was not pursued aggressively because of interferon's cost and scarcity until it showed promise against cancer.

The American Cancer Society announced in August, 1978, that it would commit \$2 million by far its largest single grant to buy interferon for tests on four types of cancer. The society has increased its commitment to \$7.3 million, but so little interferon is available that it is still waiting to spend its money. Dr. Rauscher said that only \$1.2 million had been spent.

\$10 Million

The National Cancer Institute has allocated \$10 million for interferon research this year, and two Houston oilmen have started the Interferon Foundation with the aim of raising at least \$20 million within two years.

Leon Davis and Roy Hufington, independent oilmen, started the Interferon Foundation to tap the oil industry for funds. The Shell Oil Co. announced last week grants totaling \$2 million to the Interferon Foundation and \$1 million to the American Cancer Society for interferon research.

As the first interferon results in the tests organized by the American Cancer Society have indicated, scientists are a long way from a cure for cancer. Two groups seem to be in the lead, however, each with its own method of producing interferon in larger quantities and, eventually, at lower prices than the method developed in Finland.

Biogen S.A., a Swiss firm partly

owned by the pharmaceutical company Schering-Plough, sent its parent company's stock up almost eight points with an announcement in January that it had produced a facsimile of human interferon from bacteria. By the end of this year, the Biogen product will be tested on humans, observers believe.

California Firm

A San Francisco-based firm, Genentech, in collaboration with the drug company Hoffman-La Roche, also has announced progress in manufacturing interferon. Its

product will be tested on humans early next year. Genentech vice president Robert Byrnes said.

The large sums being spent on interferon research have generated a lot of press coverage and public interest as well as some charges that interferon's anti-cancer potential is being exaggerated. Doctors have resigned from the American Cancer Society board to express their displeasure with the organizations' enthusiastic support for interferon. Other doctors point to the initial test results, which show that interferon often produces less evidence

of improvement than other drugs. Dr. Rauscher stressed, however, that the important thing was that interferon had shown it did have some potential against cancer. He cited a possible parallel:

Early penicillin was very impure and today's interferon is only one part pure in 999 parts other matter. It was not until penicillin was purified so that it could be given in much larger doses that it began to have dramatic results.

There are several interferons, in various stages of laboratory production, and it may not be the sub-

stance called interferon, but rather a later product, that emerges as the truly effective modifier of the human immune system.

Science is a long way from the present early cancer research to any anti-cancer market for interferon. It is even further because of cost — although the price has fallen by one-half in a year — to a non-injectable form that could be used to ward off the common cold and other viruses, but the potential for success is so large that research is proceeding at a rapid rate and the rewards promise to be great.

Findings of 'No Use,' Scientists Say

Love Canal Panel Disputes Chromosome Study Result

By John Noble Wilford

NEW YORK, June 15 (NYT) — A scientific panel has delivered a report to the Environmental Protection Agency disputing the conclusion of an earlier study that some residents of the Love Canal area in Niagara Falls, N.Y., exhibited abnormal levels of chromosome damage.

Roy Albert of the New York University Medical Center, who headed the panel, said in an interview that the results of the earlier study were "indefinite" and "really of no use."

Dr. Albert said that the scientists who reviewed the study could not verify the presence of excess material in the chromosomes of the purported victims. Nor, he said, did the number of chromosome irregularities exceed that found in the general population. The panel found some errors in preparing the cell material for the study, and some possible misinterpretations, he said.

But members of the panel cautioned that people who live in the neighborhood still may have suffered some ill effects from the chemical wastes buried there. The study reporting suspected chromosome damage, conducted by Dante Picciano of the Biogenics Corp. in Houston, was the impetus for President Carter to declare a state of emergency at Love Canal and for plans to relocate many of the area's residents.

Geneticists Consulted

A spokesman for the EPA, which ordered the review, said that the panel's report, delivered Friday, was being evaluated and would not be made public until later this week. Reached by telephone in Houston, Dr. Picciano said, "I have not moved from my report one iota."

Cyril Smith Dies, Reuters Official In North America

NEW YORK, June 15 (NYT) — Cyril A. Smith, 63, a senior executive of Reuters in North America, died Thursday in London just before he was to attend the news agency's annual luncheon.

Mr. Smith, who lived in Merrick, N.Y., was associated with Reuters for more than 45 years, with an interruption for service in the British Army in World War II. Assigned to the New York office in 1959, he later became manager of Reuters Economic Service in North America, playing a leading role in the expansion of the agency's operations in the United States and Canada.

In 1972 he was named assistant manager for North America with special responsibilities for communications and technical services. When Reuters established its subsidiary company, IDR Inc., in Farmingdale, N.Y., for the development and manufacture of equipment, he became one of its vice presidents. He was named executive vice president in 1978.

Chen Fahong

TOKYO, June 15 (AP) — Chen Fahong, 64, a political commissar of the Chinese Army's Wuhan units, died on June 2, Fuking radio said yesterday. He previously had worked as political commissar for the Guangzhou and Kunming units, it added.

Sergio Pignedoli

REGGIO, Italy, June 15 (AP) — Cardinal Sergio Pignedoli, 69, a Vatican diplomat who was considered one of the leading candidates for pope in 1978, died here early today of a lung ailment, the Vatican announced. He was president of the Secretariat for Non-Christians, a position he had held since 1973. A close friend of Pope Paul VI, he held posts in South America, Africa and Canada.

th African troops and armored vehicles gather as a helicopter comes in to land in southern Angola during the attack on guerrilla bases of the South-West Africa People's Organization.

Botha Says 200 Guerrillas Killed

5. African Troops Pull Out of Angola

JOHANNESBURG, June 15 (UPI) — South African troops pulled out of southern Angola over the weekend after killing more than 200 guerrillas, South African officials said in the biggest cross-border raid since 1978.

A spokesman Col. Kobus van der Merwe said yesterday afternoon, final phase of withdrawal and operation can be considered completed. Armored columns left Angola from the South-West Africa border on an unspecified day early in the week. He also announced that

Minister Pieter Botha told the press that the incursion had been on an unspecified day early in the week. He also announced that

Soviet Advisers

Bosman said that the troops evidence of the presence of East German advisers in the complex, but that they were found among the dead. A 40-mile thrust into Angola launched in a region that West-

ern intelligence sources have said contained an East German battalion and more than 1,000 Cuban soldiers. But Col. Bosman said that the South African force, spearheaded by tanks and warplanes, made no contact with East German, Cuban or Angolan soldiers.

He said all the fighting was restricted to the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) in the heavily fortified camps, which consisted primarily of underground bunkers.

It was the largest raid into Angola since South African troops destroyed what was then SWAPO headquarters near Cassinga, 140 miles north of the border, in May, 1978.

The SWAPO guerrillas have used their increasingly sophisticated bases inside Angola to launch guerrilla raids along the northern border of Namibia, which South Africa has ruled since 1920 under a League of

9 Die in Istanbul Fire

ISTANBUL, June 15 (AP) — Nine persons were killed when a fire swept a hotel in nearby Pendik late Friday night, police said yesterday. Among the victims were four Finnish and two Italian tourists.

Colbert Son Seized in French Embassy

PROVIA, Liberia, June 15 (UPI) — A 40-man team of French Embassy troops marched in Monrovia and arrested A.B. Tolbert, the youngest son of the late President William Tolbert, the state-run news agency reported today.

Yolbert, one of the new government officials, by the new authorities of the misuse of public office, the civil rights of the people, had hidden in the house since the April 12 coup in his father was killed.

and of military intelligence moved on the French minister the new government was to Mr. Tolbert's presence, the agency said. It gave no details.

French Foreign Ministry spokeswoman said the French Embassy agent and unacceptable violation of the status of diplomatic

with Sierra Leone President Sir Stevens aimed at ending the Organization of African Unity's political boycott of Liberia.

Invited by Mr. Stevens, Sgt. Doe left with a 40-man delegation, including Liberia's new ministers of foreign affairs and defense as well as his second in command, Brig. Gen. Thomas Quiwonkpa.

It was Sgt. Doe's third trip outside Liberia since the coup that ousted President Tolbert, who was then OAU president.

The OAU has so far politically ostracized the new government. It turned a Liberian envoy away from an economic summit in Lagos soon after the new military council took control.

According to diplomats and ob-

servers, other African states disapprove of the way the new regime seized power and of the fact that no national elections have been scheduled for the near future.

The OAU heads of state meet in Sierra Leone next month, and informed sources in the Liberian capital said that Sgt. Doe hoped his visit would clear the way for Liberian participation.

The sources said that Sgt. Doe also hoped to smooth over recent diplomatic wrangles with Sierra Leone. Sgt. Doe recalled his ambassadors to Sierra Leone, Nigeria and Ivory Coast after the three states refused to allow him to attend a meeting of the Economic Community of West Africa, of which Liberia is a member.

But Botha Determined to Set Up Mixed Council

Nonwhites Reject Pretoria's Racial Plan

By John F. Burns

JOHANNESBURG, June 15 (NYT) — For the past week, South Africa's all-white Parliament has been debating what government spokesmen have presented as its most important piece of legislation in decades: constitutional amendments aimed at establishing a formal dialogue between whites and the other races on ways of sharing power.

But even before the amendments have cleared the House of Assembly in Cape Town, nonwhite groups crucial to the plan's success have repudiated it, leaving the government heading up what threatens to be a constitutional blind alley. Prime Minister Pieter Botha has indicated that he is determined to proceed with the plan, prompting black leaders to say it is less a break with the past than a new attempt to impose the white man's will.

The heart of the program is a new body, to be called the President's Council, which will replace the existing all-white Senate. Its 60 members will be drawn from the four principal minorities — whites, Indians, Chinese and those of mixed parentage. It will consider any matter referred to it by the government, principally the question of political power and how a future constitution could be shaped to accommodate the interests of each group.

The government has said that the council would eventually be joined by a separate panel of blacks, who make up about 20 million of the 27 million people living in South Africa and the three black areas designated as independent states, Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda.

The proposals were introduced with fanfare by the ruling National Party, which has governed for three decades on the principle that political power should be held forever by whites, but which now is seeking ways of meeting the demands of other racial groups without hurting the position of whites.

Politically the plan is a holding device devised by Mr. Botha as a way of easing constitutional rigidities without actually offering power to nonwhites. If undertaken now, such an offer would be likely to precipitate a split between the more moderate wing of the party that Mr. Botha leads and the powerful rump of hard-liners who believe that small concessions to blacks will eventually bring down the whole edifice of white power. The hard-liners have a popular champion, Dr. Andries Treurnicht, who makes no secret of his ambition to succeed Mr. Botha as prime minister.

The plan also would give Mr. Botha more time to find nonwhite leaders willing to go along with power-sharing arrangements that stop short of majority rule. Members of the Botha-wing of the National Party are generally prepared to share power with other groups, including blacks, but only on highly restrictive conditions — a continuation of racial separation, with whites allowed to remain segregated in their residential areas, schools and hospitals, and nothing that will undermine the whites' overall control.

Shying Away

When it became clear from the debate in the National Party that the proponents of change mostly envisaged a new form of white hegemony, not a nonracial democracy, even moderate nonwhite leaders began to shy away.

The suspicions of other groups were heightened during the opening stages of the parliamentary debate by Hennie Smit, minister of posts, who answered opposition taunts on the exclusion of blacks from the President's Council with a racist remark of a kind not heard in the South African legislature for years. Mr. Smit asked of the opposition leader, Frederik van Zyl Slabbert: "Does he think that it is feasible that people whose thought processes are even slower than most of us here should be involved in this?"

The remark prompted outraged editorials and many nonwhite leaders said that their apprehensions about the government's intentions had been confirmed. Mr. Smit told Parliament that he had meant to suggest that blacks were slower than whites in assimilating new constitutional processes. When this failed to quiet the uproar he returned to the chamber nearly a week after the original statement and withdrew it. But the damage had been done, with some party insiders saying privately that Mr. Smit had torpedoed the constitutional plan.

Several influential blacks, including Dr. Nkomo Mofema, unofficial leader of many blacks in Soweto, the township outside Johannesburg, long ago rejected changes that do not provide direct negotiations between whites and genuine black leaders such as Nelson Mandela, the imprisoned head of the African National Congress. But the government has failed to attract even moderate black figures who oppose confrontation between blacks and the authorities.

PARIS AMUSEMENTS
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Many countries accept telephone company credit card and collect calls. And where they do, the hotel surcharges on such calls are usually low. There's no surcharge of all on calls made from the post office or other telephone centers. Use these tips as your rule of thumb, and you'll save a fist full of change.

Bell System

International Bond Prices — Week of June 12

Provided by White Weld Securities, London; a Division of Financiers Credit Suisse - First Boston

RECENT ISSUES

Am	Security	Yield	Price	Life	Cur
101	101 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	101 1/2	101 1/2	101 1/2
102	102 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	102 1/2	102 1/2	102 1/2
103	103 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	103 1/2	103 1/2	103 1/2
104	104 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	104 1/2	104 1/2	104 1/2
105	105 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	105 1/2	105 1/2	105 1/2
106	106 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	106 1/2	106 1/2	106 1/2
107	107 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	107 1/2	107 1/2	107 1/2
108	108 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	108 1/2	108 1/2	108 1/2
109	109 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	109 1/2	109 1/2	109 1/2
110	110 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	110 1/2	110 1/2	110 1/2

STRAIGHT BONDS

Currencies Except DM

Am	Security	Yield	Price	Life	Cur
111	111 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	111 1/2	111 1/2	111 1/2
112	112 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	112 1/2	112 1/2	112 1/2
113	113 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	113 1/2	113 1/2	113 1/2
114	114 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	114 1/2	114 1/2	114 1/2
115	115 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	115 1/2	115 1/2	115 1/2
116	116 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	116 1/2	116 1/2	116 1/2
117	117 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	117 1/2	117 1/2	117 1/2
118	118 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	118 1/2	118 1/2	118 1/2
119	119 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	119 1/2	119 1/2	119 1/2
120	120 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	120 1/2	120 1/2	120 1/2

Am	Security	Yield	Price	Life	Cur
121	121 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	121 1/2	121 1/2	121 1/2
122	122 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	122 1/2	122 1/2	122 1/2
123	123 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	123 1/2	123 1/2	123 1/2
124	124 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	124 1/2	124 1/2	124 1/2
125	125 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	125 1/2	125 1/2	125 1/2
126	126 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	126 1/2	126 1/2	126 1/2
127	127 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	127 1/2	127 1/2	127 1/2
128	128 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	128 1/2	128 1/2	128 1/2
129	129 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	129 1/2	129 1/2	129 1/2
130	130 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	130 1/2	130 1/2	130 1/2

Am	Security	Yield	Price	Life	Cur
131	131 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	131 1/2	131 1/2	131 1/2
132	132 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	132 1/2	132 1/2	132 1/2
133	133 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	133 1/2	133 1/2	133 1/2
134	134 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	134 1/2	134 1/2	134 1/2
135	135 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	135 1/2	135 1/2	135 1/2
136	136 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	136 1/2	136 1/2	136 1/2
137	137 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	137 1/2	137 1/2	137 1/2
138	138 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	138 1/2	138 1/2	138 1/2
139	139 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	139 1/2	139 1/2	139 1/2
140	140 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	140 1/2	140 1/2	140 1/2

Am	Security	Yield	Price	Life	Cur
141	141 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	141 1/2	141 1/2	141 1/2
142	142 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	142 1/2	142 1/2	142 1/2
143	143 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	143 1/2	143 1/2	143 1/2
144	144 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	144 1/2	144 1/2	144 1/2
145	145 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	145 1/2	145 1/2	145 1/2
146	146 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	146 1/2	146 1/2	146 1/2
147	147 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	147 1/2	147 1/2	147 1/2
148	148 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	148 1/2	148 1/2	148 1/2
149	149 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	149 1/2	149 1/2	149 1/2
150	150 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	150 1/2	150 1/2	150 1/2

Am	Security	Yield	Price	Life	Cur
151	151 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	151 1/2	151 1/2	151 1/2
152	152 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	152 1/2	152 1/2	152 1/2
153	153 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	153 1/2	153 1/2	153 1/2
154	154 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	154 1/2	154 1/2	154 1/2
155	155 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	155 1/2	155 1/2	155 1/2
156	156 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	156 1/2	156 1/2	156 1/2
157	157 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	157 1/2	157 1/2	157 1/2
158	158 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	158 1/2	158 1/2	158 1/2
159	159 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	159 1/2	159 1/2	159 1/2
160	160 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	160 1/2	160 1/2	160 1/2

Am	Security	Yield	Price	Life	Cur
161	161 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	161 1/2	161 1/2	161 1/2
162	162 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	162 1/2	162 1/2	162 1/2
163	163 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	163 1/2	163 1/2	163 1/2
164	164 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	164 1/2	164 1/2	164 1/2
165	165 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	165 1/2	165 1/2	165 1/2
166	166 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	166 1/2	166 1/2	166 1/2
167	167 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	167 1/2	167 1/2	167 1/2
168	168 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	168 1/2	168 1/2	168 1/2
169	169 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	169 1/2	169 1/2	169 1/2
170	170 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	170 1/2	170 1/2	170 1/2

HIGHEST YIELDS

To Average Life Below 5 Years

Am	Security	Yield	Price	Life	Cur
171	171 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	171 1/2	171 1/2	171 1/2
172	172 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	172 1/2	172 1/2	172 1/2
173	173 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	173 1/2	173 1/2	173 1/2
174	174 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	174 1/2	174 1/2	174 1/2
175	175 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	175 1/2	175 1/2	175 1/2

HIGHEST YIELDS

To Average Life Above 5 Years

Am	Security	Yield	Price	Life	Cur
176	176 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	176 1/2	176 1/2	176 1/2
177	177 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	177 1/2	177 1/2	177 1/2
178	178 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	178 1/2	178 1/2	178 1/2
179	179 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	179 1/2	179 1/2	179 1/2
180	180 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	180 1/2	180 1/2	180 1/2

HIGHEST CURRENT YIELDS

To Average Life Above 5 Years

Am	Security	Yield	Price	Life	Cur
181	181 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	181 1/2	181 1/2	181 1/2
182	182 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	182 1/2	182 1/2	182 1/2
183	183 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	183 1/2	183 1/2	183 1/2
184	184 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	184 1/2	184 1/2	184 1/2
185	185 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	185 1/2	185 1/2	185 1/2

Am	Security	Yield	Price	Life	Cur
186	186 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	186 1/2	186 1/2	186 1/2
187	187 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	187 1/2	187 1/2	187 1/2
188	188 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	188 1/2	188 1/2	188 1/2
189	189 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	189 1/2	189 1/2	189 1/2
190	190 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	190 1/2	190 1/2	190 1/2

HIGHEST CURRENT YIELDS

To Average Life Below 5 Years

Am	Security	Yield	Price	Life	Cur
191	191 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	191 1/2	191 1/2	191 1/2
192	192 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	192 1/2	192 1/2	192 1/2
193	193 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	193 1/2	193 1/2	193 1/2
194	194 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	194 1/2	194 1/2	194 1/2
195	195 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	195 1/2	195 1/2	195 1/2

Am	Security	Yield	Price	Life	Cur
196	196 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	196 1/2	196 1/2	196 1/2
197	197 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	197 1/2	197 1/2	197 1/2
198	198 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	198 1/2	198 1/2	198 1/2
199	199 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	199 1/2	199 1/2	199 1/2
200	200 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	200 1/2	200 1/2	200 1/2

HIGHEST CURRENT YIELDS

To Average Life Below 5 Years

Am	Security	Yield	Price	Life	Cur
201	201 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	201 1/2	201 1/2	201 1/2
202	202 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	202 1/2	202 1/2	202 1/2
203	203 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	203 1/2	203 1/2	203 1/2
204	204 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	204 1/2	204 1/2	204 1/2
205	205 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	205 1/2	205 1/2	205 1/2

Am	Security	Yield	Price	Life	Cur
206	206 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	206 1/2	206 1/2	206 1/2
207	207 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	207 1/2	207 1/2	207 1/2
208	208 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	208 1/2	208 1/2	208 1/2
209	209 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	209 1/2	209 1/2	209 1/2
210	210 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	210 1/2	210 1/2	210 1/2

HIGHEST CURRENT YIELDS

To Average Life Below 5 Years

Am	Security	Yield	Price	Life	Cur
211	211 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	211 1/2	211 1/2	211 1/2
212	212 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	212 1/2	212 1/2	212 1/2
213	213 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	213 1/2	213 1/2	213 1/2
214	214 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	214 1/2	214 1/2	214 1/2
215	215 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	215 1/2	215 1/2	215 1/2

Am	Security	Yield	Price	Life	Cur
216	216 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	216 1/2	216 1/2	216 1/2
217	217 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	217 1/2	217 1/2	217 1/2
218	218 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	218 1/2	218 1/2	218 1/2
219	219 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	219 1/2	219 1/2	219 1/2
220	220 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	220 1/2	220 1/2	220 1/2

HIGHEST CURRENT YIELDS

To Average Life Below 5 Years

Am	Security	Yield	Price	Life	Cur
221	221 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	221 1/2	221 1/2	221 1/2
222	222 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	222 1/2	222 1/2	222 1/2
223	223 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	223 1/2	223 1/2	223 1/2
224	224 1/2 % 1980 Jun	12.75	224 1/2	224 1/2	224 1/2
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ECOWAS



Faces of West Africa: from left, Liberia's Sgt. Samuel Doe, Togo's Gen. Gnassingbe Eyadema, Guinea's Sekou Touré, Ivory Coast's Felix Houphouët-Boigny and Senegal's Leopold Senghor.

Shaky Start Dogs Fund's First Years

E. Togo (IHT) — The ECOWAS Fund is intended to be the financial foundation of the community, the instrument for the implementation of policy. In 1975, AS heads of state approved a capitalization of \$500 million by the beginning of last year. Member states had paid in \$2 million.

First managing director of the fund, Dr. A. Romeo Horton of Liberia, estimated that \$200-300 million could be raised. The fund's main sources of income are member states' contributions and income from investments.

The fund's capital will be used to projects and to compensate states for losses in revenue from the implementation of projects or multilateral projects in the community. The success of the fund is considered to be a measure of practical success of the AS.

Central Task
The fund's central task is to be strong financial support for AS. This means solving the fundamental problems of member states and be done on a by-case basis.

One example of the problem is that it is taking to develop cooperation with the subregional financial institutions already in existence. The French-speaking states form the core of most of the regional organizations is at the heart of the matter. If the fund could there must be greater economic and political harmony between states despite the ethnic and ideological differences that separate them.

In 1978 a meeting was held in Ivory Coast of officials of the Economic Community of African States (the French-speaking subregional community), its d'entraide et de garantie prunts du Conseil de l'Entente (a fund for those states, in association with France), the West African Development Bank (another financial organization of French-speaking countries), the African Development Bank and the ECOWAS Fund. Those present at the governing bodies should harmonize their procedures in project assessment, coordinate financial and human resources, co-finance specific projects and exchange information. This list of good intentions merely confirmed the continued existence of similar institutions doing similar jobs.

Bad Start
In any case, the fund got off to a bad start. First, there was a conflict of status between the ECOWAS Secretariat in Lagos and the fund in Lomé, resulting in differences between the Ivorian executive secretary of ECOWAS, Dr. Aboubakar Ouattara, and the Liberian managing director of the fund, Dr. Romeo Horton.

Then there were allegations about inefficient management of the fund, excessive spending and unnecessary travel, as well as imbalances in staff recruitment. The showdown came at the ECOWAS summit in Dakar in 1978 after which Dr. Horton handed in his resignation. It was also resolved that the executive secretary, Dr. Ouattara, was the head of the ECOWAS administrative structure, while the fund was to be an operational unit managing the community's resources from Lomé.

The late president of Liberia, William Tolbert, nominated Winston Tubman, a lawyer and economist, as the new managing director of the fund. Mr. Tubman is seen to have brought a new sense of direction to the fund and has been establishing guidelines for lending to member states and for guaranteeing loans from third parties, as well as seeking to raise the fund's capital from European and Middle Eastern money markets. Much time has been lost in getting the fund working. In February there were still 13 vacancies on the staff.

Although harsh, the criticism was justified. The drought-stricken Cape Verde Islands, for instance, have not paid a cent of their \$4,000-dollar contribution and are not the only country behind in its obligations. The Nigerian remark, nonetheless, led to grumblings that "big brother is flexing his muscles."

If contributions from the more-developed nations are high, both to the budget and to the \$150 million development fund, these countries stand to gain more from the community in the short term than the poorer ones.

Tariff barriers on all ECOWAS-origin industrial products are to be abolished following a decision of the community's supreme heads of state council last month. They also decided to lift all trade barriers on unprocessed goods originating in member countries. This

means, in effect, that countries like Nigeria, Ghana, Ivory Coast and Senegal, which form a group of industrializing markets in fields such as textiles, petrochemicals, light manufacturing industries, will be in a position to sell goods much below European manufacturers, who would still be required to pay huge customs duties.

For example, a more than 80-percent tax is levied on any European-made car shipped to most of the 16 countries before it can be driven off the docks.

Lifting trade barriers within the community is hoped to incite private national companies, alone or more likely in association with Western manufacturers, to produce more locally to win access to the preferential market and avoid tariff barriers, European executives here say.

Community Dream Takes Shape; 16 Nations Attempt Closer Union

By Loic Even

ABIDJAN, Ivory Coast (Reuters) — Critics called it a dream that would never come true in the jungle world of West Africa. They argued that a common market was an impossible challenge to realism in the split world of regional rivalries and the power politics of former European colonial powers. And yet, the dream of a united West Africa grouping 16 countries speaking English, French and Portuguese is taking shape — albeit with premeditated slowness.

Five years ago in the Nigerian capital of Lagos, with much African pangastry, leaders of the 16 nations representing some 150 million West Africans put their seal to a Treaty of Lagos instituting the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Their largely untapped mineral-rich region, more than half the size of the European continent, runs from the Tropic of Cancer down almost to the Equator. What binds them together is the fight against widespread poverty and underdevelopment.

The community unites such unlikely partners as Nigeria with its huge oil resources and an estimated 90 million population, and the tiny Gambia — only slightly bigger than Luxembourg — where peanuts and tourism are the only sources of income for its half a million people. The sheer size and power of Nigeria and its political pull in African politics are undoubtedly the main reason why other, less wealthy ECOWAS countries are showing some reluctance in committing themselves too quickly to the community idea. African political sources say.

But facing Nigeria, and to a large extent balancing its influence, stands a close-knit group of nine French-speaking nations — Benin, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, Upper Volta and Togo. What they lack in wealth, they make up for with a long tradition of political stability, with an undisputed sense for organizing things and, most important, a stable, freely convertible local currency inherited from and backed up by France, the former colonial power in the region.

ECOWAS fed from its inception on experiences from a myriad of other groupings in a region that took an early lead in organizing itself. For example, it adapted the budget contribution based on each nation's per capita income/gross national product from the six-nation French-speaking West African Economic Community — Ivory Coast, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal and Upper Volta — still in existence, as well as the idea of a development fund aimed essentially at helping the poorer members.

This has meant that Nigeria with an officially declared GNP of almost \$28 billion — almost double that of all the other member countries put together — is putting up 32 percent of the community's initial budget of \$500 million dollars. The Nigerians have already paid their dues in full, and Nigerian President Shugu Shagari at the most recent ECOWAS summit in the Togolese capital of Lomé last month complained bitterly of the "low levels of contributions by member states."

Although harsh, the criticism was justified. The drought-stricken Cape Verde Islands, for instance, have not paid a cent of their \$4,000-dollar contribution and are not the only country behind in its obligations. The Nigerian remark, nonetheless, led to grumblings that "big brother is flexing his muscles."

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means, in effect, that countries like Nigeria, Ghana, Ivory Coast and Senegal, which form a group of industrializing markets in fields such as textiles, petrochemicals, light manufacturing industries, will be in a position to sell goods much below European manufacturers, who would still be required to pay huge customs duties.

For example, a more than 80-percent tax is levied on any European-made car shipped to most of the 16 countries before it can be driven off the docks.

Lifting trade barriers within the community is hoped to incite private national companies, alone or more likely in association with Western manufacturers, to produce more locally to win access to the preferential market and avoid tariff barriers, European executives here say.

Already, because of suppression of tariffs among the six French-speaking community partners, a new trade pattern of inter-regional exchanges has been developed, especially in textiles and foodstuffs.

Following the ECOWAS decision last year to allow free movement of people within the community for up to 90 days, there has been a noticeable flow of goods from the English-speaking area to the French, and vice-versa. According to all regional experts, this traffic is likely to grow as more barriers crumble over the years, provided extremely sensitive micro-nationalism does not reappear.

There are, however, indications that all may not be rosy in this respect, judging by steps taken by Nigerian immigration against the large Ghanaian colony in Nigeria, or by recent riots against Mauritania shopkeepers here in Abidjan, the Ivory Coast capital.

Inter-regional trade is also being organized on a state-to-state basis. The cornerstone has been the setting up of a West African Unit of Account (WAUA) for monetary settlement among the region's 10 different currencies — only four of them freely convertible. They are the African Community franc (CFA), backed up by the Banque de France, the Gambian dalasi supported by the Bank of England, as is Sierra Leone's leone, and the Liberian dollar, backed up by the U.S. Treasury.

Banking sources here point out that a recently created regional clearinghouse operating out of Sierra Leone's capital of Freetown has done wonders to boost trade between English and French-speaking countries.

"Nigeria buys plenty of coffee from the Ivory Coast. It sells the Ivory Coast crude oil, which is refined in Abidjan and sold to Ghana. And everybody gets paid. Incredible but true," said one Western banker whose group is well-placed in the region to finance such two-way trade.

The community's limited success so far does not hide the many problems it faces, the most serious being the lack of expertise and investments on the scale needed to develop immense mineral resources — iron ore in Guinea, uranium in Niger, manganese in Upper Volta and petroleum almost everywhere along the coast.

Nigerian President Shagari complained last month that there was too much "political patronage" in the choice of senior staff to man both the community's Lagos-based secretariat and its Fund. The former Fund director, Dr. Romeo Horton, was sacked by heads of state last year after he was criticized for his recruitment policies.

But the problem is a general one throughout Africa, and it will take as long to solve it as time is needed to train professional cadres. Five years is about the time it took the European Steel and Coal Community to get off the ground as an embryo of the European Economic Community, and that was in the early 1960s.

With their limited means, West African countries can be singled out in Africa as the only region that has made a start at organizing a respectable market at a time when attempts in North and East Africa had failed.

Delegates Attend ECOWAS Talks

By Robert C. Siner

WASHINGTON (IHT) — Top officials of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) gathered here last week to explain to U.S. public and private sector representatives the problems, prospects and needs of their organization.

The six-member delegation, headed by Aboubakar Diaby Ouattara, ECOWAS executive secretary, and Robert Tubman, managing director of the ECOWAS Fund, began the week with a day-long conference at the State Department to "acquaint government officials with ECOWAS...its present state of development and outlook and what it signifies for U.S.-West African economic relations."

A two-day forum for investors followed with representatives of private industry during which Mr. Ouattara assured American businessmen that ECOWAS was ready "to take all comers" in sectors that had been identified for development. He urged U.S. businessmen not to look upon West Africa as "a French zone" but rather as a "target of opportunity" for expanding trade and investment.

Georgetown Seminar
The ECOWAS delegates finished their week here with a seminar on financing at Georgetown University. The university's Center for Strategic and International Studies, along with the consulting firm of Henderson International, is hosting the Georgetown part of the meeting.

The sessions in Washington had been in the works for a long time, according to Ambassador Mabel Smythe, who chaired the State Department conference.

"ECOWAS quite some time ago expressed interest in gaining access to [U.S.] private sector investment and technology," she said, adding that, the organization, which could be described as a West African common market, was little known in American government and business circles and that Washington was chosen because it was considered a good place to inform public and private sector officials of the needs of the organization.

Mrs. Smythe had high praise for Mr. Ouattara and Mr. Tubman, who opened the State Department conference with addresses on the plans, progress and prospects of ECOWAS and on the scope, purpose and operation of the Fund. She said their papers were "right to the point" and were "open and frank" about the organization, "its problems and how they expect to deal with them." She characterized

the conference as "surprisingly rewarding."

After the statements by the two ECOWAS leaders, the conference heard a panel of academic experts present papers comparing ECOWAS to other regional economic entities in Europe, Asia, the Caribbean and Latin America, the relevance of other African experiences and attempts at regional economic integration to the success or failure of ECOWAS, a comparison of the ECOWAS Fund and other regional economic institutions and ECOWAS and the Lomé conventions.

The conference concluded with an after-dinner session which included a review of ECOWAS performance compared to its goals and an analysis of the implications for U.S. economic policy, trade and investment.

Guarded Optimism
In general, the presentations were guardedly optimistic. They outlined the enormous problems and noted that other African attempts at regional economic and political unions had ended in failure.

However, the speakers all found that ECOWAS was moving in the right direction, not trying to do too much in too short a time and had managed some significant accomplishments in its five-year existence. The major question still to be answered, according to almost all the speakers, was whether the 16-nation group had the patience, tenacity and political will to overcome its problems in the long term.

At the investors' forum, sponsored by Henderson International, a consulting firm specializing in trade expansion, the ECOWAS delegates met American businessmen in small sessions to discuss specific areas of possible investment and development.

A conference organizer described the session as one laying the groundwork for a commercial mission to the ECOWAS region next March. He said in the next 12 weeks, ECOWAS representatives would try to identify companies that would be "most interested in attending such a commercial mission." He said no major agreements were expected from the Washington conference but added that deals would be struck during the visit of the commercial mission to the ECOWAS region.

Opening the investors' forum, Rep. William Gray, a Pennsylvania Democrat and member of the House of Representatives Foreign

(Continued on Page 10S)

French Influence Affects Regional Integration Efforts

By Alex Rondos

LOME, Togo (IHT) — Since the time when European powers established their "colonial" colonies in West Africa, and Joseph Conrad's Marlowe told of seeing a French man-of-war off the coast "firing cannon balls into a continent," the influence of France and its culture in the region has been preponderant. Of the 30 predominantly or exclusively West African organizations now functioning in the area, the majority — and the most effective — are Francophone.

So when the creation of a Franco-phone West African commonwealth was announced at a Franco-African summit in France last month, proponents of regional integration across linguistic and colonial lines sat up and took notice.

A Nigerian diplomat said in private that French government pressure on Frenchophone states was one of the major hurdles in negotiations to set up ECOWAS in 1975. The French, he said, sought to have their former colonies avoid excessive commitment to the new economic union at the expense of existing links with France. While perhaps not shared by all, this view reflects the circumspection with which Anglophones regard the Francophone countries in the region.

Francophone West Africa includes a group of states already far more integrated economically and culturally — among the governing circles — than any union ECOWAS could hope to achieve for a number of years. Benin, Ivory Coast, Niger,

Senegal, Togo and Upper Volta are all members of the Union Monétaire Ouest Africaine, the West African branch of the franc zone. The aim of the UMOA is to maintain a legal common tender for member states. Any state may join the union, provided current members agree. The UMOA's currency is the CFA or African Community franc, issued by the Banque Centrale des Etats de l'Afrique de l'Ouest, now based in Dakar.

The key to the continued existence of this monetary union is the franc zone. Under this broad umbrella, France and the French franc guarantee the CFA franc. There are two sides to the argument about the merits of this arrangement. The apologists claim that France provides monetary stability for all the

participants. The member states are obliged to deposit a proportion of their foreign reserves with the French treasury in Paris.

However, in West Africa responsibility for the franc zone is determined by agreements within the membership in the UMOA. The French guarantee of the CFA permits the free convertibility of the franc zone currencies, the free transfer of capital and the regulation of trade and the centralization of members' monetary resources in the BCEAO. The bank is thus responsible for the issue of money and places strict conditions on the monetary policies of member countries. And the bank opens the way to an economic union among the member states, in this case, the

West African Economic Community or CEAO.

The critics of this arrangement maintain that France continues to dominate the monetary policies of the franc zone states. When there is a devaluation in France, the CFA is devalued proportionately. The parity between the two currencies, agreed on in 1958, is one CFA franc to 0.02 French francs.

West African ministers expressed concern in late 1978 and early last year when France entered the European Monetary System without consulting the franc zone members. As a result, a special ministerial meeting was called hastily so that the French minister of the economy could reassure the Francophone partners in Africa that their own interests would be protected within

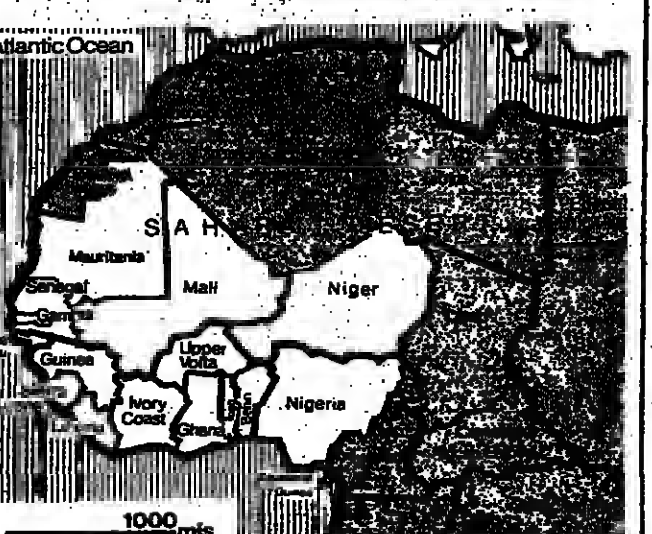
the proposed EMS. The most severe critics simply claim that independent African countries have had to sacrifice some of their sovereignty for membership in the franc zone.

Visitors, and especially businessmen, visiting franc zone countries are always amazed at the influence of France and its business interests. Again, they point to the existence of the zone as a means by which the entry of French investment, under profitable circumstances, has been facilitated since well before independence.

This arrangement has occasionally created tension among the participants. When one country has a severe balance of payments deficit, as has been the case of Senegal in the last year, the BCEAO draws from

(Continued on Page 15S)

At a Glance



there have been numerous attempts to achieve regional cooperation in the multi-ethnic expanse of West Africa where France, Spain and Portugal established colonial empires in the place of African kingdoms. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) joins together 16 nations — Benin, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Ivory Coast, Cape Verde, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Nigeria, Niger, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Upper Volta — to implement regional and subregional cooperation and development for the estimated 150 million inhabitants of the area. Established by the Treaty of Lomé in 1975, the community secretariat is based in Lagos, Nigeria, while the ECOWAS Fund has its headquarters in Lomé, Togo.

ECOWAS

Nigeria Faced With Task of Making Oil Money Work for All

By Nii K. Bentsi-Enchill

LAGOS (IHT) — As the world's fifth largest oil producer with a gross national product on the continent second only to that of South Africa, Nigeria offers a good example of the development challenge facing ECOWAS countries in particular, and Africa in general. And although Nigeria's \$33.3 billion GNP dwarfs that of its community partners, the headaches of putting it to work for the estimated 70 to 100 million Nigerians are correspondingly greater.

Since independence in 1960 Nigeria has passed through civilian government and regional federation, ethnic massacres and political assassinations, nearly three years of civil war and another decade of military government. During that time a head of state was assassinated, and the central government consolidated its power. The country's political structure has been modified from three regions to 12 states, then 19 states, and there is now some pressure to create additional subdivisions.

Nigerian politics are often viewed as a power struggle among the elites of three major ethnic groups — the Yoruba, Ibo and Hausa — but this is an oversimplification. And although tribalism, nepotism and corruption have taken their toll on economic performance, other factors intervened as well.

The civil war and the meteoric rise in world oil prices dictated the course of events during the 14 years of military government in Nigeria, turning ethnic balance and allocation of revenue into major political issues. That some degree of stability has been maintained was evidenced in the relatively uneventful 5-stage general elections held last year and the peaceful transition to power of President Shehu Shagari's National Party of Nigeria.

Oil, which accounts for 90 percent of Nigeria's exports and foreign revenue, is at once part of the problem and part of the solution. It has greatly aided the central government in consolidating control of the states through budgetary allocation, but the oil boom has created a structural imbalance in the economy.

'The coincidence of the oil boom and the crisis in agriculture provides some confirmation of the contention that increased investment in agriculture can be counterproductive when it results in capital-intensive production that bypasses the peasant farmers and blocks their access to credit and sometimes even to fertile land.'

Most experts agree that Nigeria's agriculture is in crisis and is having difficulty producing enough food to feed the population. Beginning in 1970, but especially since 1975, food prices in urban centers have risen faster than other prices and far above minimum wages in both the public and private sector. Imports of food staples such as wheat, rice, fish, meat, milk, sugar and the oils and fats that were once the basis of Nigeria's exports have increased dramatically, using up hard currency that could have gone into development projects. And the volume of agricultural exports is declining.



Shehu Shagari

Cocoa has fallen off considerably, and groundnuts and palm oil exports have collapsed entirely.

The coincidence of the oil boom and the crisis in agriculture provides some confirmation of the contention that increased investment in agriculture can be counterproductive when it results in capital-intensive production that bypasses the peasant farmers and blocks their access to credit and sometimes even to fertile land. Serious rural labor shortages also result due to migration of young people to urban centers.

The price hikes set by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries in 1973-74 resulted in an increase

naira. Construction of the necessary infrastructure will be costly as reflected in this year's budget allocation of 2.26 billion naira to education.

Pitfalls of overambitious development programs are many. Projections did not take into account a 40 percent drop in oil revenues in 1978, nor was any allowance made for collusion between government officials and local and foreign businessmen.

The clearest illustration of such collusion is the 1975 cement scandal. Nigeria ordered more cement — 20 million tons — than the combined export capacity of Europe and the Soviet Union. This resulted in phenomenal congestion at the Lagos port and a final cost to the government of nearly \$2 billion in various settlements as well as a \$1.6 billion budget deficit for that year, according to one estimate.

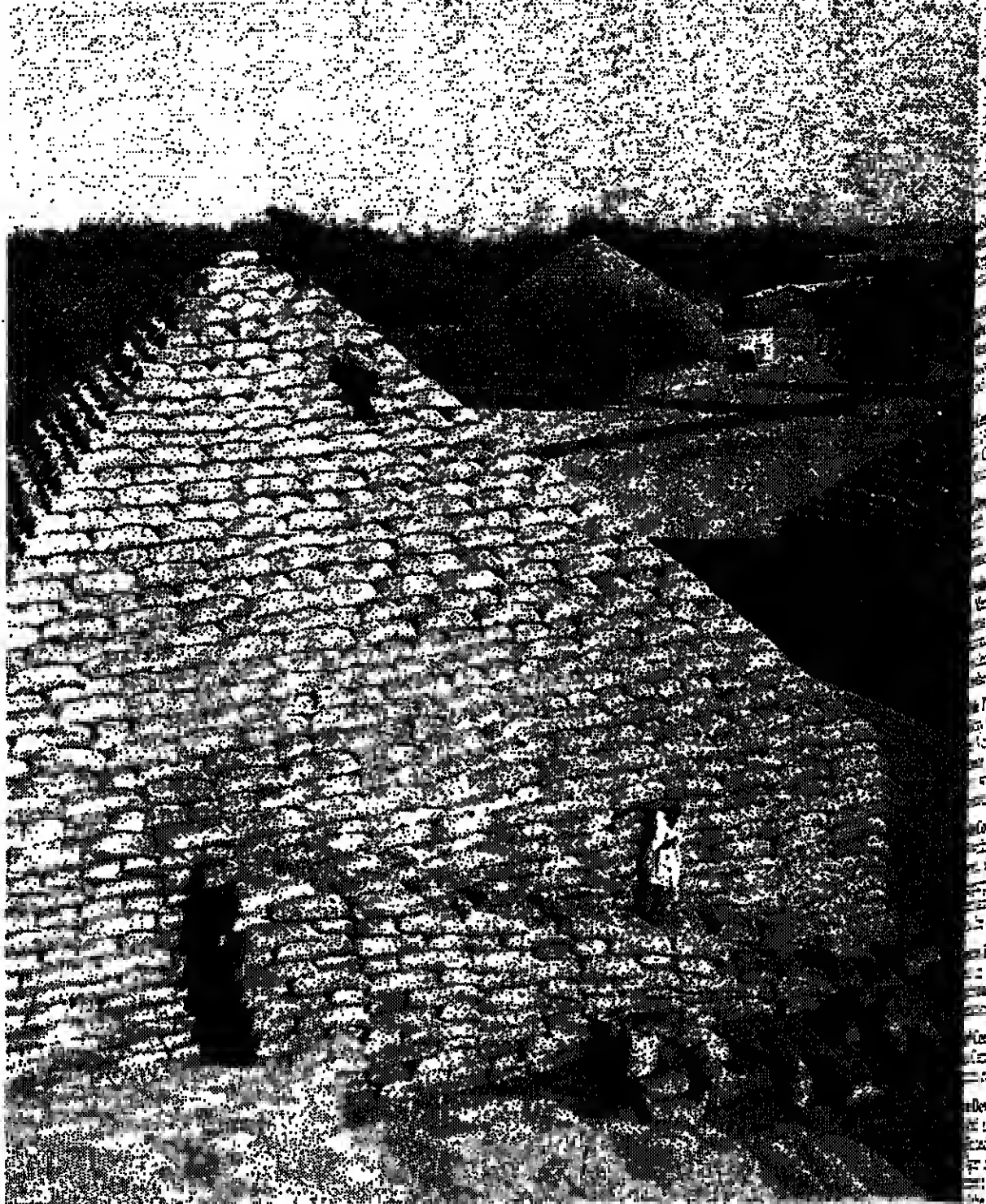
Nigerian commerce moved ahead rapidly in the past decade as a flood of international and local contractors turned up to supply the needs of the big-spending government. The government was eventually forced to ban completely or impose quotas on the import of certain goods in order to conserve foreign exchange as well as resort to pre-shipment inspection, particularly of industrial raw materials and spare parts, by a Swiss firm to ensure minimum quality standards. The civilian government recently ended inspection of these items as well as of books.

Industrial investment has been concentrated in low-technology light manufacturing rather than in the capital goods necessary for greater autonomy. Motor vehicle assembly plants have been springing up around the country — Peugeot, Volkswagen and British Leyland, for example — but cynics point out that such ventures have a low value-added component and, in any case, high-technology is doing the same as Japan and the West while low-paid Nigerians are just now starting in on it.

Negotiations with foreign investors for an integrated iron and steel industry finally produced results after more than a decade of effort when an agreement was signed last year with a Soviet firm for construction of a 1.2-billion naira blast furnace and steel works at Ajaokuta. West German firms are scheduled to complete a direct reduction plant at Warri by the end of next year. Steel rolling mills are planned for Katsina, Jos and Oshogbo, and a 45-million naira machine tools plant has made a start in Oshogbo.

Petroleum earnings are expected to continue to fuel the economy, and it is predicted that Nigeria's vast reserves of natural gas will eventually take over and generate even greater revenue by the end of the century. The oil industry and refinery construction already share roughly one-third of the budget with manufacturing, and the development of liquid natural gas is expected to play into this give-and-take relationship.

The role that oil and natural gas will play in the Nigerian economy in the next 20 years are of crucial importance for West Africa as well. The federal military government proved ready and willing to use its political power last year by taking full control of shares in BP (British Petroleum) in order to influence the British government before the Lusaka Commonwealth Ministers conference. It remains to be seen what action President Shagari's government will take to insure that Nigerians will benefit fully from the nation's wealth.



Although oil is Nigeria's big money-maker, peanuts, stacked in Kano, are an important source of income. Officials are worried about declining agricultural exports as more people move to urban centers.

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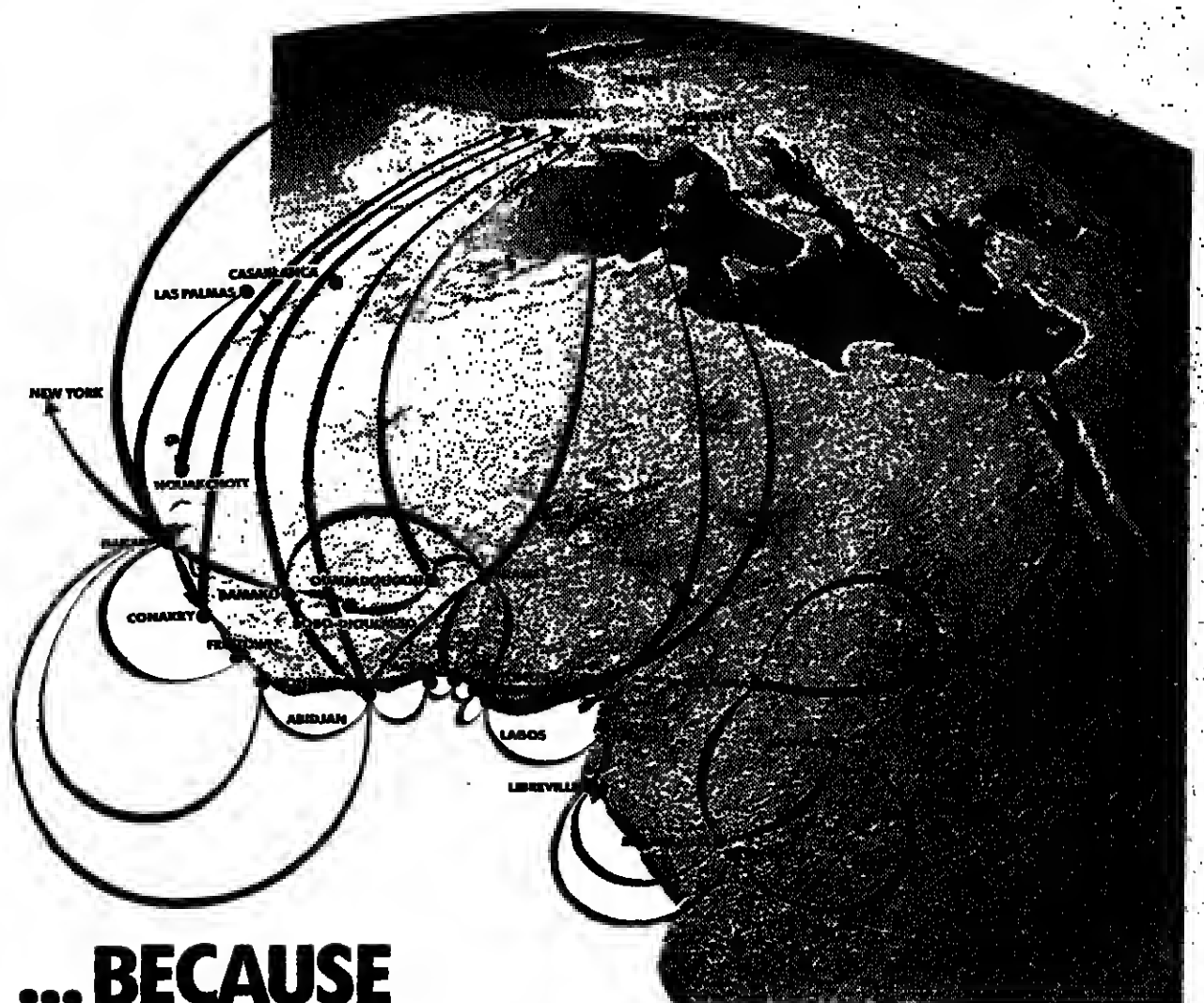
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ECOWAS

Organizations for All Seasons

numerous subregional organizations in West Africa are important in the strengthening of ECOWAS, although some will be redundant as the community expands. Some are:

African and Malian Common Organization (OCAM). Established in 1966 and based in Bamako, Central African Republic. Members are Benin, CAR, Ivory Coast, Mauritania, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Seychelles, Togo and Upper Volta. OCAM seeks to strengthen economic, technical, social and cultural relations between member states. Much of its influence has eroded, however, as more effective regional organizations have sprung up.

African Grouping Council. Established in 1964 and based in Lagos. Members are The Gambia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sudan and Upper Volta. The council concentrates on promoting the development and keeping prices up.

African Society for the Development of Millet and Sorghum (ASDIMS). Established in 1962 with headquarters in Niamey. Members are Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Sudan and Upper Volta. The society studies the construction of mills to process millet, sorghum and other grains and also trains technicians in the field.

Central des Etats de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (CEAO). Established in 1962 with headquarters in Dakar. Members are Benin, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, Togo and Upper Volta. It issues a franc.

Organisation Africaine de Développement (OAD). Established in 1962 with headquarters in Niamey. Members are Benin, Niger, Senegal, Togo and Upper Volta. The bank promotes development and integration in West Africa.

Producers Alliance. Established in 1962 with headquarters in Niamey. Members are Benin, Cameroon, Gabon, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Nigeria and Togo. The Alliance represents cocoa producers and promotes the consumption of cocoa. It is a clearinghouse for technical information and seeks price support on the world market.

Union de l'Est. Established in 1959 with headquarters in Niamey. Members are Benin, Ivory Coast, Niger, Togo and Upper Volta. The council was originally intended by Ivory Coast to create a diplomatic bloc at the time when Senegal joined in 1960. It has since been an economic mutual aid organization.

Union de Coordination de la Route Dakar-N'Djamena. Established in 1974 with headquarters in Addis Ababa. Members are Benin, Chad, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal and Upper Volta. The purpose of the organization is to coordinate planning, investment and maintenance of the road from Dakar, Senegal, to Niamey, the capital of Chad.

Union Electrique du Benin (UEB). Established in 1970 with headquarters in Cotonou. Benin and neighboring Togo are using through the organization to develop an infrastructure for production and distribution.

Chad Commission. Established in 1964 with headquarters at Niamey. Cameroon, Chad, Niger and Nigeria seek to regulate exploitation of water resources from the Lake Chad basin.

Union de Développement Intégral de la Région du Liptako-Gour. Established in 1970 with headquarters in Ouagadougou. Upper Volta, Niger and Upper Volta establish an authority to coordinate development of the region that includes the three countries. It is out of the Niger River Commission.

Mono River Union. Established in 1973 with headquarters in Freetown, Sierra Leone. The union seeks to liberalize trade between Liberia and Sierra Leone through a customs union. Guinea is expected to join in the fall, but recent political upheaval in Liberia has cast some doubt on the project.

Nigeria-Niger Joint Commission for Cooperation. Established in 1971 with headquarters in Niamey. The commission is intended to smooth out economic relations between the two countries. One of the problems is the delicate issue of trade between the Hausa populations of northern Nigeria and southern Niger. Much of Niger's livestock production ends up in the markets of Kano, Nigeria, rather than in Niger's capital of Niamey.

Nouakchott-Lagos Highway Coordinating Committee. Headquarters in Addis Ababa where the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa plays a coordinating role. Composed of The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Mauritania, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo, the committee is responsible for implementation and financing of a road to stretch along the coast of West Africa.

Organisation pour la Mise en Valeur du Fleuve Sénégal (OMVS). Established in 1972 with headquarters in Dakar. Members are Mali, Mauritania and Senegal. The goal is to coordinate development of the Senegal River Basin and specifically involves control of the water supply in the three countries.

Comité Inter-Etats de Lutte Contre la Sécheresse dans le Sahel (CILSS). Established in 1973 with headquarters in Ouagadougou. Members are Benin, Guinea-Bissau, The Gambia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, Chad and Upper Volta. The committee has drawn up a plan through the year 2000 for the coordinated development of the Sahel region.

Niger River Commission. Established in 1964 with headquarters in Niamey. The objective of the commission is to coordinate development of the Niger River Basin. Members are Benin, Cameroon, Chad, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Mali, Niger, Nigeria and Upper Volta.

West African Clearinghouse. Established in 1975 with headquarters in Freetown. It is an essential component of the ECOWAS treaty. The clearinghouse promotes the use of local currencies for subregional trade and advises members on the use of foreign currency reserves. Members are the central banks of Benin, Gambia, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo and Upper Volta.

West African Examinations Council. Established in 1951 with headquarters in Accra, Ghana. Members are Gambia, Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria and Sierra Leone — English-speaking countries of West Africa. The council conducts academic examinations in member countries. It is composed of 42 members named by governments and national committees as well as representatives from Cambridge University and the University of London.

West African Health Secretariat. Members are English-speaking West African states.

Gambia River Development Organization (OMVG). Coordinates the development of the Gambia River basin for Senegal and Gambia.

West African Rice Development Association (WARDA). Based in Monrovia, Liberia, the association aims at achieving self-sufficiency in rice production for the region. All ECOWAS states are members.

Liberia: Aftermath of a Coup

By Nii K. Bentsi-Enchill

MONROVIA, Liberia (HT) — Many observers said later they had foreseen the April 12 coup that toppled President William Tolbert, head of Africa's oldest independent nation. But no one had imagined that the 113-year role of the True Whig Party would be ended by a group of non-commissioned officers and result in Tolbert's death as well as the execution of 13 of his senior officials.

Ordinary people rejoiced in the streets following the executions, hailing Master Sgt. Samuel Doe and his People's Redemption Council as the country's saviors. The council and a civilian cabinet, which includes three members of the Tolbert administration, now rules the country. The United States, Liberia's principal creditor with assets amounting to some \$500 million in the country, has refrained from public comment on the coup, except to join in the general condemnation of the executions.

Observers point out that leaders of other African nations have not rushed to accept the new men in Liberia. Several Liberian officials were refused permission to land in Lagos in April to attend meetings to prepare for the Organization of African Unity summit in Sierra Leone next month. Liberia holds the OAU chair until the Freetown meeting, but there is some question whether Sgt. Doe automatically assumed the position occupied by Tolbert.

Military Takeovers

Although military takeovers are not uncommon in West Africa, they have usually been led by the officer class, which often has ties with civilian elites. Observers say the fact the coup was carried out by noncoms and soldiers made it more difficult to accept.

The old order in Liberia was characterized by the domination of the indigenous population by descendants of freed slaves from the United States who, with the aid of the American Colonization Society, established a coastal enclave in 1822. The territory moved inland with the help of treaties and armed backing from the United States. A declaration of independence in 1847 established a constitution that remained in force in most of its original form until it was suspended at the time of the coup.

The national motto — "The Love of Liberty Brought Us Here" — effectively excluded the indigenous population that vastly outnumbered the settler group (about 25,000 out of 1.7 million). The flag is modeled on the Stars and Stripes, there is a senate and a house of representatives, the seat of government is called the capitol and the U.S. dollar is the national currency.

Liberia was reserved for the elite, tightly knit through intermarriage and official nepotism, while the natives were condemned to hard work. Liberia was dominated by the League of Nations in 1930 for exporting forced labor to the island of Fernando Po. This slaveholding mentality persisted for many more years.

The settler elite played an intermediate role between foreign capital and the local population. Liberia was often called the "Firestone Republic" after a million-acre concession was granted to the American rubber company in 1926 under very favorable terms. The rubber tappers working for Firestone and other concessionaires remained underpaid and unorganized right into the 1970s while foreign and local interests made steady profits from rubber throughout the century.

This notion of concession can be applied to Liberian politics as well as to the economy. After an initial period of pre-eminence by mulatto settlers, "men of ebony complexion" came to the fore and founded the True Whig Party in 1869. The TWP subsequently organized Liberia's affairs around the interests of the elite. Concessions in rubber, mining, and timber, and the gradual domination of commercial activity by Lebanese and Syrians resulted in a situation where five out of seven businesses are foreign-owned. The biggest employers are either totally foreign-owned (Firestone) or in joint partnership with the government such as LAMCO, the Liberian-American-Swedish iron ore mining company.

The party played the role of middleman, collecting commissions — officially, state revenue, and unofficially, kickbacks — from foreign and local business interests, as well as from local people who as officials were obliged to contribute to the party coffers from their salaries. During William Tolbert's 27-year presidency, the party machine was finely tuned. His "open-door" economic policy encouraged a large influx of foreign capital, but an

even greater outflow in rents, dividends, commissions and profits. Tolbert ruled with a skillful blend of patronage and ruthlessness, prolonged by harassment of any opposition. He saw the need to bring elements of the indigenous population within range of sharing the fruits of this policy but was nevertheless convinced that only a minority could ever be "civilized."

When former vice president Tolbert succeeded Tolbert on his death in 1971, a new era appeared about to begin.

Tolbert wore the open-collar "political suit" instead of the traditional top hat and tails. He took up Tolbert's policy of unification of the country's peoples and preached tolerance with liberalism. Economic policy became more nationalistic with increased government participation in mineral and agro-industrial exploitation.

The Firestone concession was renegotiated in 1976 with a reduction in the concession area from 1 million to 289,000 acres. Land rent was raised from 6 cents to 50 cents an acre, and Firestone became liable to taxation for the first time. Although there were several other concessions apt for renegotiation, the government feared that foreign capital would be frightened away by such actions, and revision of concession agreements ceased.

The Tolbert administration continued backing the "open-door policy," even though a 1973 World Bank report estimated that out of every dollar earned in Liberia only 16 cents stayed in the country. The government proclaimed the virtues of "humanistic capitalism" and launched slogans such as "from mats to mattresses" to reflect social concern.

Meanwhile, 34 percent of the population continued to own more than 60 percent of the wealth, roughly 80 percent of the population lived in the depressed rural areas where the most fertile land had been occupied by rubber and timber concessions. In the urban areas unemployment had reached 30 percent and was rising.

Social and political tensions suddenly accelerated last year after a slow buildup of opposition forces during the decade. A self-help organization called Susunku, Inc. was formed in 1971 and broadened in a sister organization called the Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA).

In 1973, led by the economist, Togba-Nah Tiptoh. That same year in the United States, Liberian students formed the Progressive Alliance of Liberia (PAL), moved to Monrovia in 1978 and were allowed to register as the Progressive People's Party, but only after much effort, despite constitutional provision for a multi-party system.

As part of its development program, the government declared in the mid-1970s that Liberia would be self-sufficient in rice by this year. With the deadline approaching and the goal still far off, a proposal was made last year to stimulate local production by increasing the producer price, which would mean an increase for the consumer from \$22 to \$30 for a 100-pound sack of rice.

Consumer Burden

The burden on the ordinary consumer was great as many Liberians earn less than \$100 a year, and the PAL called a demonstration to protest the price rise. The government reacted hastily, and the police fired on demonstrators, killing at least 100 and wounding several hundred more. Rioting ensued, which reportedly caused \$36 million in damages.

The mayoral elections for Monrovia were postponed in November, officially because of political tension, but also because it appeared official candidate Francis Horton would lose to independent Amos Sawyer, a member of MOJA.

The TWP threatened to invoke a constitutional clause on mayoral elections to counter Mr. Sawyer's popular support, but at the president's initiative, postponed the voting on the promise of removing the clause during the next session of the legislature. Until the April 12 coup, there was no universal suffrage in Liberia.

However, the Progressive People's Party suddenly called for a general strike early in March with the goal of bringing down the government. The leader, Gabriel Bacchus Matthews, and more than 100 party members were arrested and many of them were due to face trial on charges of treason and sedition — the first charge carrying the death sentence.

Some soldiers had also been arrested along with PPP supporters, and it was later recalled that soldiers had been found to be "disloyal" during the events of April last year, allegedly for taking part in the looting.

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Intensive breeding has shown considerable improvement since 1965. The problem that now faces the industry is one of inadequate feed and feed ingredients. With the new agricultural policy, or emphasis is to be placed on removing this bottleneck. Additional hatcheries are being set up to produce and supply day-olds to farmers.

Imports of cattle from neighbouring Mali and Upper Volta, or, conditions are favourable for cattle breeding in the country. Government has therefore decided to establish more ranches in the country since the experimental ones have proved very successful. Goats are kept in small units by farmers throughout the country. With the assistance of UNDP two centres have been established in Jura and Juaso for the supply of improved breeding stock to the operations of these centres are to be extended under the crash agricultural programme.

Fisheries: The new policy of Government will be to concentrate on the development of inland fresh water fish farming and the fishery resources of the Volta Lake and other big rivers will be more intensively to supplement catches by marine vessels.

SOCIAL SERVICES

Services in the Social Sector have over the years been directed at the basic human needs of society on a sustainable basis. The health sector emphasis is placed on primary health care aimed at extending the coverage and improving the quality of services to the rural areas. Under the programme, it is expected that all Ghanaians will be covered by the year 1990. Under the programme, pilot projects have been mounted at Danfo in the north and Kintampo in the north of the country. These have facilitated the training of village health workers in community participation. Immunisation programmes have also been carried out in the country with WHO assistance and plans are under way for a National Expanded Immunisation Programme. With Japanese assistance, a magnificent Research Institute (The Noguchi Institute of Medical Research) has been established for scientific research into endemic tropical diseases.

Research into Plant Medicine will soon start producing local plants and herbs for clinical use and for the improvement of traditional herbal practices in the rural areas.

Settlement conditions are being improved both for the rural dwellers, through cooperative housing schemes and state institutions. Sites and Services and Slum upgrading programmes are being initiated in five major towns of the country. Programmes will improve living conditions of about 200,000 families. In addition to the co-operative housing schemes, the rural people are assisted through the Roof Loans and Protection Schemes to roof their uncompleted houses and upon their houses through the plastering and painting of walls or provision of doors, windows and drainage facilities.

Need for the proper disposal of human wastes cannot be stressed in our human settlements. Appropriate technologies are being studied to take care of this problem.

The Social Welfare area, probation, delinquency, after-care and other services are available in all the nine regions of the country. For the over 357 Day Care Centres registered in the country, training of staff is undertaken at the National Day Care Training Institute at Madina. Vocational training for both literate and illiterate is provided in about 14 women's training institutes and for young men in about four trade institutes.

Projects including school buildings, postal agencies, community clinics are undertaken through community effort to supplement government's programmes to improve the quality of life of rural communities.

In response to the major international movements for the advancement of the rights of women and children, two Commissions, the National Council on Women and Development and the National



Mothers are encouraged to take advantage of modern techniques in child care without sacrificing what is noble in the traditional way of handling of children.

Commission on Children have been set up to ensure that planning and implementing agencies include in a more affirmative manner programmes for improving the social and economic conditions of women and the conditions for the optimal development and growth of the Ghanaian child.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Ghana has enjoyed free education since 1957 and universal free education since 1961. This has led to great achievements in the production of skilled manpower to man the various sectors of the country's economy. Presently, Ghana has about 70% of the children between 6-14 in school.

At the secondary level of education enrollment has increased from 17,000 at independence (in 1957) to 136,000 in 1977/78.

In 1957 there was only one university with an enrollment of some 800 students. Presently there are three universities enrolling some 10,000 students, offering courses in Medicine, Engineering, Mining and Mineral Science, Computer Science, Teacher Training, African Studies, Journalism, Communications and Law.

In the provision of free and universal education, Ghana spends about 20%-25% of the national budget annually on education. At present, Ghana is in the process of reviewing its education system with the objective of gearing it to the changing manpower requirements of the economy.

Apart from the formal education system, there are a number of training institutions both technical and managerial, which mount specific training programmes for the development and up-grading of skills needed in the various sectors of the economy. Prominent among these are the National Vocational Training Institute, the Management Development and Productivity Institute, Ghana Institute for Manage-

ment and Public Administration, the Government Secretariat Schools and School for Accountancy Training.

Under the economic policy of the present Government, efforts are being made to redirect resources in the productive sector towards the rehabilitation of the extensive capacity of the country for increased production, particularly, of food, raw materials and exports.

In recent years Ghana's economy has passed through a period of severe difficulties. For three years from 1975, the country suffered from poor harvests in food crops and low output of industrial raw materials and export crops. In that year alone, agricultural output fell by 24%, causing widespread shortages throughout the country. The poor performance of the export sector resulted in a worsening balance of payment position, which was compounded by a rising petrol bill. The nation's ability to import raw materials and spare parts to maintain a reasonable level of capacity utilisation in industry was seriously impaired. The Gross Domestic Product declined by 12.4% in 1975 and a further 3.7% in 1976.

In 1977, however, there was a modest recovery when a growth rate of 3.6% was recorded. The improvement has continued since then, but the impact of all this on per capita income has not been significant. Inflation has been another problem. In the wake of huge budget deficits, financed by direct borrowing from the central bank, money supply increased rapidly over the period exerting a strong pressure on prices. Given this expansionary monetary policy and the weak supply situation, the rate of inflation rose rapidly to 30% in 1975, 60% in 1976, reaching a record of 116% in 1977. Stabilization measures adopted in 1978 and subsequently, have had a considerable moderating influence on prices and the indications are that the rate of inflation will be reduced far below the current rate of 40% if present policies and programmes hold over the next two years.

In order to maintain the momentum of economic recovery, measures have been taken to contain monetary expansion and improve the supply situation. The 1979/80 budget proposed to reduce the size of the deficit from the 1978/79 level of C1,864.8 million to C513 million. Expenditure control has been so rigidly tightened that in spite of a recent award of wages and salary increases to civil servants the budget output is not expected to exceed C600 million in deficit.

The move is aimed at ridding the budget of wasteful expenditures, particularly in the non-revenue earning portion of the budget. In the capital estimates items of low priority have been dropped, and a number of construction projects have been postponed. On the supply side, Government has launched a 2-year agricultural programme aimed at encouraging increased production of food, raw materials for agro-based industries and export crops to increase foreign earnings. The import programme has been restructured to permit a higher level of capacity utilization. The key words in the Government's policy guidelines are rehabilitation, retraining and redirection, with agriculture as the focal point.

POWER DEVELOPMENT

A basic ingredient in the country's growth effort is the development of cheap sources of power. In 1961 the Volta River Authority was established, among other things, to develop a hydro-power project on the Volta River. By 1972 six generating sets had been installed at Akosombo bringing the total installed capacity to 900 MW, capable of generating 5,650 G.W.h/yr. In 1973 a transmission line was built from Akosombo to neighbouring Togo and Benin, which now enjoy power from the Volta River Project.

From the long term load demand forecasts based on the anticipated rate of industrialization, it has been realized that extra sources of power would be needed by 1981. To meet these future demands, work is at an advanced stage on the construction of a second dam downstream of Akosombo, at Kpong. It is expected that by mid-1981 the Kpong project would be in commission. Kpong is planned for an installed capacity of 148 MW with an annual output of 1,000 G.W.h/yr. The project will create a pond of 1.3 million cubic metres. As part of the project, a resettlement programme has been launched

to resettle about 7,000 people in six modern villages and provide them with facilities for irrigation.

Power development in Ghana has been conceived in the future power development of the West African sub region. The Kpong project will be linked to the existing Volta Grid which presently supplies power to Togo and Benin. Ghana and Ivory Coast have established a Power Interconnection Committee to implement the interconnection of the power systems in the two countries. And studies have been completed on another dam up-stream Akosombo at Bui for hydro-power. It is envisaged that this project will benefit Upper Volta as well.

Apart from development on the Volta River, there are plans to study other rivers especially in the Western and Central Regions of Ghana for hydro-power development. The realization of these programmes will make it possible to spread industrialization in the country, especially to exploit the wealth of the Western Region in the form of timber and minerals.

AGRICULTURAL POLICY

About 70% of the population of Ghana is engaged in the agricultural sector, mainly on small farm holding averaging about 3½ acres per farmer. A number of large scale farms have recently sprung up engaged in rice, rubber, oil-palm and sugar production but the small farmers still produce about 90% of all output from the agricultural sector. Thus the small farmer plays a crucial role in the economic development of the country and policy must of necessity take account of the needs of the small farmers.

Except for the Accra plains, the southern half of the country experiences two rainfall seasons a year and this makes it possible to grow crops twice a year. In the northern half of the country, however, there is only one rainfall and crop season extending from May to October.

The major crops grown in Ghana are maize, rice, millet, guinea corn, cocoa, cotton, rubber, oil-palm, tomatoes, pine-apples, coconuts, leaves of various types, okras, pepper, onions/shallots, citrus, bananas, mangoes, avocado pears, cassava, yams, cocoyams and plantain.

As a result of poor rainfall experienced for three consecutive years from 1975 to 1977, the Government has decided on an extensive irrigation programme in the food growing areas of the country. This is to be linked with regional integrated rural development projects for each of the nine regions of the country. These are already in existence. The Upper Region Agricultural Development Project, the Northern Region Rural Integrated Project, the Volta Region Agricultural Development Project, the MIDAS Project and others are due to start in the Central, Western and the Greater Accra Regions. These projects focus on the small-scale farmer, providing him with a package of inputs and facilities that will enable him improve on his productivity.



Presently Ghana has about 70% of the children between 6-14 years in school.

ECOWAS

Ghana Aims at Comeback,
Halt in Economic Decline

By Nii K. Bentsi-Enchill

ACCRA (IHT) — From its proud beginning in 1957 as the first black African country to gain independence, Ghana has seen a steady decline of its economic and political fortunes.

The deterioration has been particularly rapid in the last decade. The new-born nation with a healthy balance of payments has grown very old for its 23 years. Ghana is saddled with chronic economic and political ailments and a sack of debts.

Endowed with an impressive array of natural resources — gold, diamonds, bauxite, manganese and timber — with cheap power available from the Volta Dam at Akosombo, Ghana was once the world's leading producer of cocoa. Cocoa production reached an annual peak of nearly 600,000 tons in the mid-

1960s and stayed well above 300,000 tons for about a decade more.

The latest government budget describes the nation's current grave economic situation: "Production and exports of cocoa have declined due to ageing trees, shortage of labor, relatively low producer prices and an increasing scale of smuggling. Mineral production continues to diminish as a result of the near exhaustion of some of the mines and the shortage of some vital equipment and spare parts. Timber production and exports have remained well below capacity since 1974, partly as a result of the slowing down of world demand. And the policy banning the exports of round logs to make them available for domestic processing has not yet had any impact because the indus-

try is just now building up its capacity for processing.

"The reduction in the volume of Ghana's exports has occurred in spite of the improvement in world prices for cocoa, gold and other minerals. As a result of this, Ghana's external reserves have remained below levels necessary for uninterrupted trade and general external solvency."

The first prime minister and president, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, had great plans for industrial development and laid an infrastructure in the early 1960s which still compares favorably with other West African countries. Nkrumah had a vision of the Volta Dam feeding power to the new port at Tema with its growing import-substitution industrial complex. Hydroelectric power would also feed an aluminum industry exploiting Ghana's bauxite and help

VALCO aluminum smelter used some 60 percent of the hydroelectric power purchased at extremely cheap rates to smelt bauxite imported from Jamaica for re-export.

Some of Nkrumah's import-substitution industry was dismantled by the National Liberation Council junta of soldiers and policemen. Nkrumah's denunciations of imperialism and neo-colonialism had alienated his Western creditors while Ghana's balance of payments deteriorated. He turned to the Soviet Union and other East European countries, but they did not provide credit, and increasing shortages of consumer goods helped provide the coup-makers with credible motives.

Apart from restoring parliamentary democracy in 1969 with the victory of Dr. Kofi Busia's Progress Party, the primary result of Nkrumah's overthrow was an aggravation of the balance of payments situation. The inflow of foreign aid, which had been denied Nkrumah in his last years, consisted of suppliers' credits for consumer goods. Nkrumah's economic investments did not widen Ghana's economic base.

After his overthrow, the state farms that were not sold off were allowed to stagnate. While cocoa prices fell resulting in a foreign earnings shortfall of \$80 million, the freeing of import controls led to the accumulation of huge short-term debts.

An austerity budget in 1971 imposed a development levy on all sectors of the population further alienating the Busia government from its original political base in the middle class. The government dissolved the Trades Union Congress by the end of that year after repeated conflict with organized labor, and in a fatal move inspired by the desire to reduce public expenditure, cut the defense budget. The final straw was a devaluation of the cedi by over 40 percent at the beginning of 1972. Six days later, when Busia was in London for medical treatment, the soldiers took over again.

This time it was a National Redemption Council, led by the then Col. Ignatius Acheampong, that took power. Intoning the theme of past "economic mismanagement," the populist military government launched the slogan and policy of "Operation Feed Yourself" to achieve agricultural self-suf-

iciency — briefly successful in rice production by 1975 — and "Operation Feed Your Industries," an allied program to halt the foreign exchange drain.

The military regime — transformed by a palace coup into the Supreme Military Council in 1975, and by another one into the Supreme Military Council II in 1978 — presided over spectacular corruption and speculation whose roots

reached back to the time of Nkrumah's CPP.

Record cocoa prices up until the 1977 peak were counterbalanced by illicit diversion of significant portions of the revenue and cocoa smuggling into Togo and Ivory Coast which reached 50,000 tons a year. Galloping expenditures on the armed forces, steeply rising oil import bills after 1974, misuse of import licenses for profiteering and unauthorized capital transfers all nourished budget deficits which reached \$2 billion in 1976 and 1977. The money supply rose by 80 percent annually while the currency's value fell by 10 percent per month and inflation climbed to 400 percent for some local food items. By June 1979, the total external debt stood at some \$1.3 billion.

Real wages are estimated to have regressed 20 years. This staggering deterioration brought an increase in strikes and student demonstrations from 1976 onwards. Gen. Acheampong attempted to change military rule into "Union Government" with participation by individual politicians by way of a rigged referendum in March 1978. His successor, Gen. Fred Akuffo, tried to negotiate a more cautious retreat for the military but succumbed to pressure and allowed party political activity beginning in January 1979.

On June 4 last year junior officers channelled a mutiny in the lower ranks into a revolution. The whole officer class was threatened, and eight senior officers, including Generals Acheampong and Akuffo, were executed by firing squad.

"People's courts" tried and sentenced roughly a hundred soldiers, businessmen and civil servants to stiff prison terms, and led by Flight-Lt. J.J. Rawlings, pursued a "housecleaning" which resulted in the collection of several hundred million cedis in taxes and duties, a purge of the state organizations and the destruction of major street markets in Accra and Kumasi. This Armed Forces Revolutionary Council allowed general elections to take place last year on June 18 but did not hand over power until two months later. The new president, Dr. Hilla Limann, and his People's National Party, which claims descent from Nkrumah's CPP, have begun their term in office with the economy at rock bottom and a political situation which

they do not appear to have the means to master.

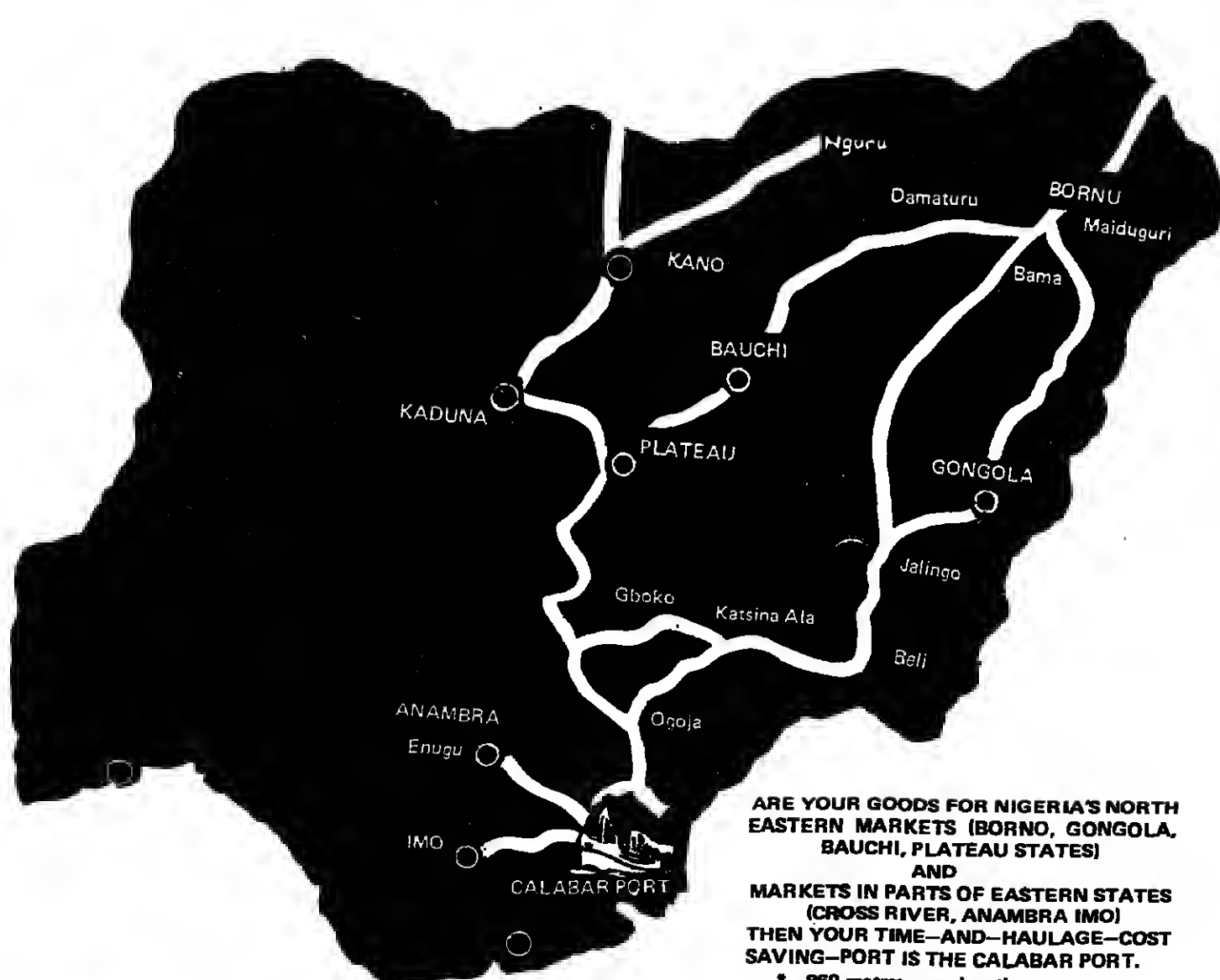
Ghana and Ivory Coast concluded an agreement under which Ghana will buy 100,000 watts of electricity from the Ivory Coast "in times of emergency." Ghana normally sells power to Togo and Ivory Coast, and soon-to-be completed Kpong Bui dams will complement the electricity supply from the Volta. However, power requirements expected to exceed this supply in 1985.

Quiet negotiations for foreign aid are taking place — some \$300 million has so far been contracted — "past economic mismanagement" the phrase used to describe Ghana's present economic woes.



Girls in Ghana carry millet stalks to be used for making roofs. Traditional construction methods persist in rural areas.

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ECOWAS Wood U.S. Leaders In Washington

(Continued from Page 75)

Affairs Committee, termed ECOWAS mission "absolutely essential" to the improvement of exports of goods and service Third World markets. He said would try to muster congress support for similar efforts in the future.

Mr. Quattara told the conference he "doesn't expect things to quickly," but said he was sure ECOWAS, in a "step-by-step" will bring about the economic revitalization of the region.

John Moore, chairman of the port-import Bank, told the conference his institution supported \$500 million in projects in the region, either through direct loan bank guarantees. He said he believed the members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries could well provide some financing for projects in the region through recycling of their petrodollars. He also raised the possibility of some OPEC nations providing financing in conjunction with the Im Bank through a "petrodollar bank" is an important instrument in U.S. export policy, providing term, low-cost financing for projects in developing countries.

Among American firms a conference were representatives of General Electric, IBM, Chase Manhattan Bank, First National Bank, Fullman-Kellogg, International Business Services and S. or Farming Machines.

Their meetings with ECOWAS delegates focused on agriculture and food processing, wood, oil, petrochemical industries, electronics and telecommunications, pharmaceuticals and extractive industries and transportation.

The delegates also met with representatives of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce to discuss the creation of a U.S.-ECOWAS business council.

Seminars at Georgetown, Guyana, discussed economic and political issues and included Carl Bell of the National Finance Corp., J. J. Carlson, staff head of the A-Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and I. Chael Samuels, director of World Studies at the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

TOGO NOUVEAU

Photos by M. KOFFI METCHOKO



TOGO IN PICTURES—The new International Bank for West African Development building; Animateurs greeting their President; La Lutte des Évalas (when President EYADEMA was a young man he was the champion); the President whilst visiting N'Djaména in the cause of peace; the magnificent Feb. 2 Hotel; a cowboy and his calf; the Port of Lomé; the Cement Clinker Ivorian-Ghanian-Togolese project, with access to the sea; potable water; a girl picking cotton and, finally, the President of the National Assembly, Monsieur A. Apedo-Amah.

Country's size belies its influence

By Rupert Bibra

It was with great pleasure that TOGO hosted the ECOWAS/CEDEAO summit 27-29 May, 1980 in Lomé and it was an honor for President EYADEMA to take the baton from President Senghor for his one year tenure of office as the Chairman of ECOWAS/CEDEAO (Communauté Economique des États de l'Afrique de l'Ouest)—Togo with Nigeria were the co-founders of ECOWAS/CEDEAO and now, after 5 years, this Economic Union is in its stride and all the initial hard work pursuing Anglophone and Francophone countries to join together seems eminently worthwhile. As this supplement is published the "Responsables" of ECOWAS/CEDEAO will have crossed the Atlantic to attend a one week Georgetown Seminar—where Afrophones like Andrew Young and Donald Easton will point the way to further development, underlining the support of the USA for this Economic Union—and a Washington, D.C. one day Conference. Dr. Diaby Quattara, the Executive Secretary has his offices in Lagos; Robert Tubman, the Managing Director of the ECOWAS FUND/Fonds de la CEDEAO, has his office in Lomé; Koffi Djondo, the Chairman of the ECOWAS/CEDEAO Chamber of Commerce, also is Lomé-based and it will be time for him to hand over to Chief Lawson of Nigeria this Autumn—the Entente Cordiale of Anglophone and Francophone is real and lasting.

That TOGO has "an influence greater than its size would suggest" is not just by chance. For 13 years President EYADEMA has shaped the course of Togo's development with considerable success—the signing of both Lomé 1 and Lomé 2 in Togo's capital underlined the President's international interests and his desire for Economic co-operation. Togo believes in liberalism and is set against doctrinaire collectivism and a potentially unprofitable "battered" public sector, in fact there is a thriving private sector and the government would rather make changes in agriculture slowly than upset the complicated land tenure system that is largely to blame for the fall in agricultural production since 1969. Togo is one of the

few countries in Africa that spends more on Education than on Defence. The RPT (Rassemblement du peuple Togolais) is a party of President EYADEMA's creation and it has instilled pride in the Togolese people; ask any man in the street if he is from Togo and all will reply: "100% Togolese". The Togolese are a resilient, happy people and accept the wider responsibilities now given to them—the Togo contingent in Zaïre proved to be a powerful and competent force—you only need to see our Commandos slow-marching on Parade Day to know our soldiers are well disciplined. Also, we have not lagged behind in giving women a public role; since March 3 two women have been in the Cabinet and the Animateurs show that women enjoy participating outside the family circle.

The Quality of life is important to the President. High on the list of priorities is potable water and electricity for all. Unless life in the country is made more attractive the lure of the towns will continue to denude the countryside and hold down agricultural production. The Financial Times recently commented that Togo is mercifully free of corruption, has kept inflation below 10% and looks like producing a balance-of-payments surplus this year—after 3 very difficult years, where the necessary thrust to industrialization had brought debt servicing to close on 30% of export receipts. The BUEE should have passed by 1984—all present Togo borrowing (like for Lomé Port Phase 2) will be for maturity of 5 years plus—and a bright future lies directly ahead with no budgetary deficits, as agriculture climbs back towards '69 levels, the mineral wealth of Phosphates and Gypsum produce handsome profits and Lomé Port's Entrepôt trade expands.

Togo is ruled by the President, with the support of the Political Bureau (9 men, including President EYADEMA), the Central Committee of the RPT (33 men and women) and the 67 deputies of the National Assembly, presided over by the elder statesman A. Apedo-Amah. Budgetary control is operated very tightly by the President and the Minister of Finance—no "overruns" are accepted

from Ministerial trespassers—and a real growth rate of 9% for 1980 can be cheerfully projected. The lack of the CFA currency by the French Franc has had its drawbacks, but mainly it has been a help and with 40 medium sized enterprises already located around the Port area and alongside the caradans, Togo is well placed to offer industrial and business expansion, Lomé based, to the wide range of companies interested in tapping the large new ECOWAS/CEDEAO market. For those of you reading this who are interested, do get our Embassies to send you our investment code details. Britain—London 584 0056, West Germany—Bonn 366 077, Belgium—Brussels 701 791, France—Paris 380 12 13, the USA—Washington 234 4212 and Canada—Ottawa 238 59 15 (17).

Why not come to Togo on a holiday, December to March is probably the nicest time, and see for yourself the progress we have made. The Supermarkets are overflowing with goods, you can actually buy spare parts and all sorts of electrical and luxury goods are available at reasonable prices—from watches and whisky to cassette and Hi-Fi. There is a wide range of luxury and middle hotels—at the top and the Feb. 2, Soro-Karwa, Hotel de la Paix and Tropicana, backed up by the Bénin, du Golfe and Hotel Le Loe in Lomé and in its neighborhood, whilst restaurants like the Mandarin and Le Berry and nightclubs like Pussy Cat and Copacabana offer something in the evening. Those who tire of the sea and the Loe can always venture inland—just an hour to K'Palmé and the comfortable 30 Aout, or 4 hours to Lomé-Kara and the Hotel Kara, K'Palmé is famous for its Bofita, Carved iron and Ceramics and is a town framed by Mango trees, the Flamboyant and forest clad hills but Lomé-Kara is famous for La Lutte, the wrestling matches held mid-June each year—the President comes from here and himself was once the Champion. It will do you no harm to see a few elephants, watch the tribal dancing, visit Kpavon's museum and enjoy the sunny nature of the To-

golese for a few days after you have made your business study.

Phosphates are the greatest wealth of TOGO—there are over 300 million tons of highgrade Tri Calcium Phosphate "rock" with 77.79% active ingredient (so making Togo's one of the best qualities in the world), the mines are near the coast and a 25 kilometre railway brings the rock to Kpémé where the phosphate is crushed and turned into a fine sand with a particle size of 3 millimeters at the rate of 800 tons an hour. 250,000 tons are stored at a humidity of 1% and a covered conveyor belt carries it along a 1,400 yard jetty to 50,000 ton ships secured alongside. Togo is now producing at the rate of 3.5 million tons per annum and the 1980 selling price is up \$12 a ton on last year, so phosphates will surpass 40% of total export earnings this year and will do even better for Togo when the Superphosphate and Fertilizer plants are operating at planned capacity.

The Port of Lomé was built by the West Germans and President EYADEMA "opened" the new port 26 April 1968. The port quickly gained a reputation for efficiency and attracted a large Entrepôt trade. Tonnage shot up from 314,992 tons in 1969 to 1,640,148 tons in 1979; in fact the port is now operating at above its designed capacity and a second Male will have to be built—20 billion CFA is needed for the Lomé Phase 2 project, to encourage still more bulk cargoes, tankers and fishing vessels. Already the Port has attracted to it an important industrial zone—the CIMTOG and CMAO cement Clinker projects (with a capacity of just on 2 million tons), the 50 megawatt power plant, the British built refinery—Togo refines Nigerian crude and sells it on the "spot" market, a 20,000 ton capacity steel mill, the flour mill, the Gnaoulu marble cutting mill.

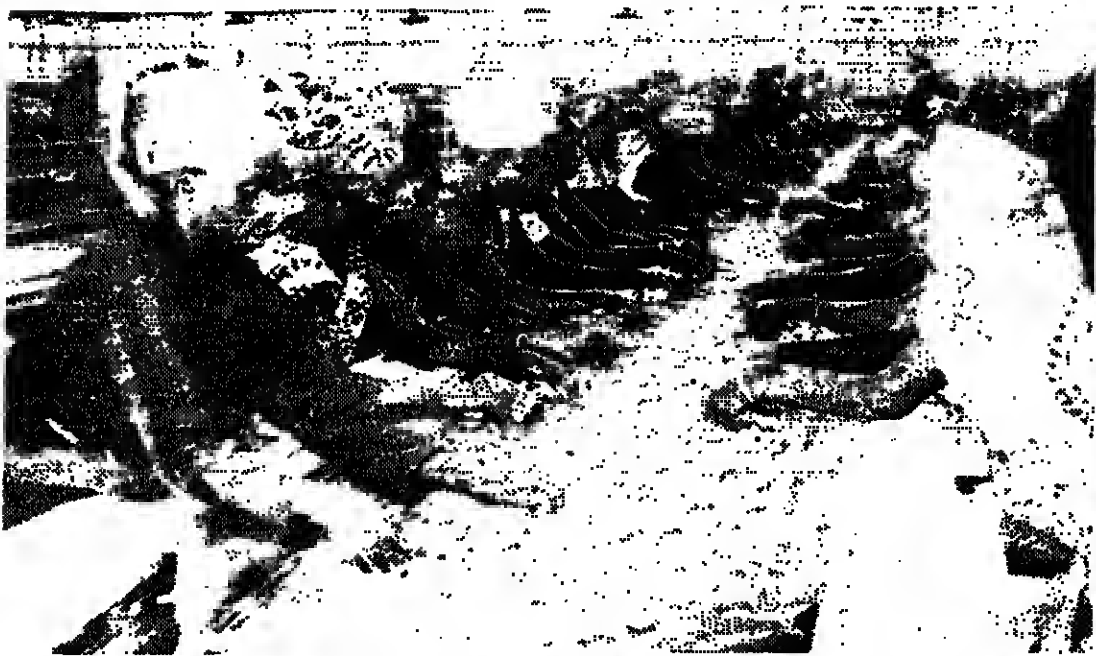
Agriculture is the priority of priorities in a country where 80% of the people depend on it for a livelihood. The agricultural range is quite extraordinary and new crops are always being considered: Cassava and yams, maize and rice, coffee and cocoa, oil palm, pepper, tomatoes, mangoes, pineapples, papaya, bananas,

lupak, cotton, carrots, onions, cauliflower, green beans. Just coffee and cocoa accounted for 30% of Togo's Export Receipts in 1979—thanks to the National Society for the Renovation and Development of the Coffee and Cocoa Industries. There is every hope now that Togo will get back to the harvest peaks of rice and ten years ago—for coffee the peak year was 1969 with 14,000 tons and 1978 provided the nadir with 4,800 tons. It seems that Togo can reach over 12,500 tons by 1985. Replanting is going ahead successfully in 15,000 hectares of the should be back to 5,000 tons by 1985; crop advanced by 25%. For cocoa the maturing time is 7 years and so recovery will take a bit longer. There are 37,000 hectares under cultivation (2.5 acres=1 hectare) and about 40% of Togo's cocoa plants are older than 20 years. It will be a long time before we can record a harvest like the 1969 25,000 tons or the 1971 peak of 27,880 tons, but 1979 topped 12,500 tons and 1985 should show over 17,000 tons again.

Cotton is the big success story, with a jump from 6,000 to 22,000 tons in three years and 30,000 looked for this year. Milling capacity is being expanded coincidentally and the new 20,000 ton capacity mill in Lomé-Kara is a model of its kind. Palm oil has been a bad performer and 19,000 tons in 1969 had slipped to 1,000 tons by 1978, but here again the government is taking a hand and Togo should be back to 5,000 tons by 1985 with equal crushing capacity. Whilst cotton is ideal for small scale farming, palm oil needs big estates—only 11% of Togo's land area is used for farming so there is room for expansion.

Maize has been another government success with 121,000 tons grown last year and only 8,000 tons imported, but rice performance was disappointing—11,000 tons grown for 6,000 tons imported. It is hoped heavily subsidized fertilizer and small irrigation projects will help to secure self sufficiency in rice by 1985. All this activity in the agricultural and livestock production sectors is being actively encouraged by the World Bank and the French government.

ECOWAS



Women peanut sorters in Dakar, left, and textile workers are part of new Senegalese urban working class.



Drought, Oil Bills Confound Senegal

DAKAR, Senegal (IHT) — There was a time 20 years ago when President Leopold Senghor was fighting a bitter rearguard action to maintain Dakar as the capital of a federated Francophone West Africa. But he lost the battle, and today Senegal is isolated and its economy is in precarious condition.

Deplorable droughts have plagued the country for 10 years, and the effect on the agriculture and groundnut production, its mainstay, has been disastrous. Groundnuts account for about half of Senegal's export revenue in a good year, and groundnut processing is the country's major industry. Adverse climatic conditions have reduced the crop by half in two of the last three years. At the same time the price of imported oil rose dramatically.

The International Monetary Fund was called in, and last December Prime Minister M. Abdou Diouf announced an austerity program in the national assembly. He blamed both international economic conditions and government mistakes. The country, he said, was suffering from a serious trade deficit, foreign reserves were dropping, crime was rising in urban areas and there had been a series of sensational exposures of corruption in high places.

The balance of payments deficit was estimated two years ago at \$87

million, and though no statistics have appeared since then, private estimates suggest that there has been little improvement. Last year's deficit in foreign reserves was \$394.1 million, and debt service was calculated at \$107 million. The region's main issuing bank, the Banque Centrale des Etats de l'Afrique de l'Ouest, has restricted debt transfers while banks in Senegal are being asked to persuade their clients, mainly foreign and particularly French, to double their deposits.

Dramatic Example

Speaking to the national assembly in late February, Finance Minister M. Ousmane Sock gave a dramatic example of the kind of problem Senegal faces. This year's revenue from groundnuts will not cover the costs of petroleum imports, which will rise to 44 billion CFA francs.

The overall effect has been to reduce the purchasing power of the peasant producer — estimated to be half what it once was — placing an even greater burden on his ability to finance his investment for next year's crop. In April, the government announced a series of long-awaited reforms in the agricultural sector. The political opposition's campaign against the government has stressed the gradual erosion of

what initiative there is left to the peasant.

Over the years one particular organization, the Office Nationale de Coopération et d'Assistance au Développement (ONCAD) acquired a size and influence within the structure of agricultural production in Senegal that some described as monstrous and others as "a state within a state". It came to be responsible for the debts, the supply of seeds and fertilizer, and the marketing of most agricultural produce. Its effect has been to nullify the role of the once vaunted Senegalese co-operatives.

The government has announced a decentralization of ONCAD, which will strengthen the position of at least 10 regional organizations for agricultural production to which most cooperatives will have to answer. Much of the domestic marketing will be handed over to private companies and traders. The agricultural minister's hope is that this will reduce the rural exodus and, above all, increase food production, a controversial issue in Senegal.

No one knows exactly what Senegal's food deficit is. The government announced one figure at the end of last year — an almost 200,000-ton shortfall. An international team sent to Senegal reduced that estimate by half, and experts operating in the rural areas claim

that, in fact, there is no deficit. It is just that the marketing system has been so deficient that most peasants have simply held on to their crops. They have withdrawn from the domestic distribution system, depriving the urban centers of food supplies and giving rise to pleas for international aid. There are indications that peasants may be reverting from once-lucrative cash crop farming back to subsistence agriculture.

Alleviate Problems

It is felt in many circles, however, that the latest measures will go some way towards alleviating the immediate problems. The development of the Senegal River Basin within the framework of the regional group comprising Senegal, Mauritania and Mali — the Organisation de la Mise en Valeur du Fleuve Senegal — is still struggling to get off the ground. When the two principal dams along the river are built — construction has yet to begin, however — irrigation could reclaim almost 200,000 acres for Senegal. But there are still questions about what sort of investment should go into the area.

Fishing is a potential revenue earner for Senegal. Although there is still no accurate assessment of fish stocks, fishing could provide dramatic benefits to Senegal as both a food source and as a cash

crop. Tourism is currently the third major source of revenue for Senegal after groundnuts and phosphate. Officials are hoping for an increase in the price of phosphate on the international market.

The current economic malaise has aggravated political tension in Senegal. The president's cherished multi-party system operates in name and within the confines of the national assembly where the governing Parti Socialiste (PS) led by Mr. Senghor, is opposed by the Parti Democratique Senegalais, which has 16 of the 100 seats. There are two other official parties, one Marxist-Leninist and the other conservative — as the constitution requires them to be. They are not represented in the legislature. It has become apparent that the experiment has severe limitations and that some of the chief political figures have chosen not to participate in the exercise.

It is now acknowledged within the upper echelons of the PS, although not by President Senghor himself, that an attempt must be made to create a more flexible political structure to attempt the reconciliation of the regime's opponents. Some of the most important power brokers in Senegal — the leaders of the religious brotherhoods whose word is an order in the rural areas — would also favor such a change.

Ivory Coast Future Rests On Political Succession

By Alex Rondos

ABIDJAN, Ivory Coast (IHT) — Although the golden days are not exactly over in the Ivory Coast, the much-envied political stability and once-prosperous economy are posing problems for the country's future. President Felix Houphouët-Boigny is aging, and the question of who will succeed him is paramount.

Although the president has announced he will seek a fifth term, he also recently acknowledged the need to "put the train of democracy back on the tracks."

The Parti Democratique de la Cote d'Ivoire (PDCI), the country's only party, has scheduled the latest of its five-year congresses for September. The event itself will be the occasion for the rubber-stamping of the much more important decisions made during preparatory commissions currently at work. The president himself disclosed several of these last week concerning the election of party representatives next month.

The congress naturally brings to mind the country's most important preoccupation — who will succeed "Le Vieux," or the Old Man, as the president is called. Mr. Houphouët-Boigny himself discourages public reference to the matter and last December squelched speculation, while at the same time giving rise to more, by announcing that he will stand for a fifth presidential term at elections following the party congress. He also rejected any notion of incipient bipartisanship in the political system though he did suggest that the PDCI might relax a bit and become more democratic.

Mr. Houphouët-Boigny's problem is very obvious. He must arrange for a method by which he will be succeeded, and to do so he is mustering all the political skills that have contributed to his political success and longevity — a masterful combination of authoritarianism and consultation.

He recently referred to the need for "team spirit" in Ivory Coast. One of the fundamentals of his political creed is dialogue — or in the African terminology, palaver. Whenever political upheaval has loomed, he has immediately brought together all the malcontents in a carefully orchestrated display of public consultation.

When it comes to the presidency, the process is much more secretive but roughly follows the same lines. For the last 20 years he has been surrounded by a group of political associates whose interests represent those of the diverse ethnic, traditional background of Ivorian politics and who at the same time have acquired a sense of communal interest through their considerable and often interlocked financial concerns, which makes them almost inaccessible and the same time extremely powerful. Out of this group will emerge a compromise candidate.

Names are mentioned all the time. Among the young cadres of the Ivorian administration, that of former finance minister Henri Konan Bedie, currently with the World Bank, is on everyone's lips. There is a younger generation of politician-technocrats in their middle to late 30s whose names are put forward as possible successors, but they are only likely to emerge after a few years.

The obvious candidate from a constitutional point of view, although he does not enjoy great popularity, is Philippe Yace, president of the National Assembly. He is also the Secretary General of the PDCI. It is thought

that he may be made vice president in a constitutional revision at the party congress.

To add to the atmosphere of speculation and uncertainty, there have been two reports of dissatisfaction in the ranks of the army, normally considered to be under complete presidential control since its last period of recalcitrance in 1973. One of the alleged plans indicating restiveness included a plot to assassinate the president during the Pope's visit to Abidjan on May 10.

A peaceful political transition is of primary importance to the economic future of the Ivory Coast. The strength and weakness of the economy is the degree to which it is subject to foreign incentive and investment. There has been a recent tendency to make pessimistic pronouncements about its future. The external debt is estimated at about \$4 billion, and the debt service is expected to rise to about 20 percent this year. There has been overspending and mismanagement in the state enterprises, and the remittances of foreign workers in Ivory Coast sent back to their home countries are estimated at about \$200 million.

Cocoa and Coffee
Because of the rapid increase in cocoa and coffee prices over the past five years, the state coffers have swelled beyond all imagination. Ivory Coast is the world's leading exporter of cocoa and ranks third in coffee. This led to a series of foreign commitments that will have to be repaid in the next few years. However, a distinction in any external debt has to be made between a commitment to borrow and what has been disbursed. At any time, the Ivory Coast can reduce some of its investment plans. This was done with the sugar complexes in the northern part of the country. Although their number was reduced from 12 to six, they were considered a major contribution to the economy, especially in the north in Ivory Coast.

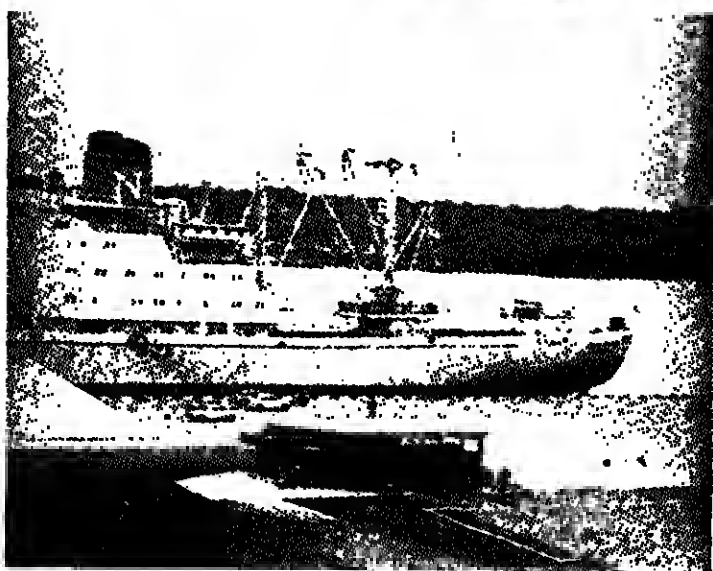
Furthermore, the country's adherence to the franc zone, membership in which guarantees the CFA franc by placing it on a parity with the French franc, has number of built-in securities which preclude budgetary overspending by any single member state.

The so-called "cocoa gamble" by which Ivory Coast has withdrawn from the international cocoa market in protest against international prices has focused attention on the role of this commodity in the Ivorian economy.

Diversification has been the order of the day in agriculture. Ivory Coast is the world's leading exporter of pineapples and has an important palm oil industry. Rice, coffee and cocoa account for over 60 percent of export revenue. Together, they account for over 60 percent of export revenue. Inducements to farmers, from low interest to fixed producer prices have been further strengthened by the existence of a great influx of low-paid workers from neighboring countries, especially Upper Volta. Over 25 percent of Ivory Coast's population is made up of Africans from neighboring states.

The role of agriculture as an economic mainstay, becoming all the more apparent as Ivory Coast has to face the major challenge of industrialization. In the last decade import substitution has been favored by the policy makers and for while was highly successful with double digit annual growth rates. Now, however, planners are realizing that the domestic market is too small for such a policy. (Continued on Page 14S)

NEW PORT OF WARRI

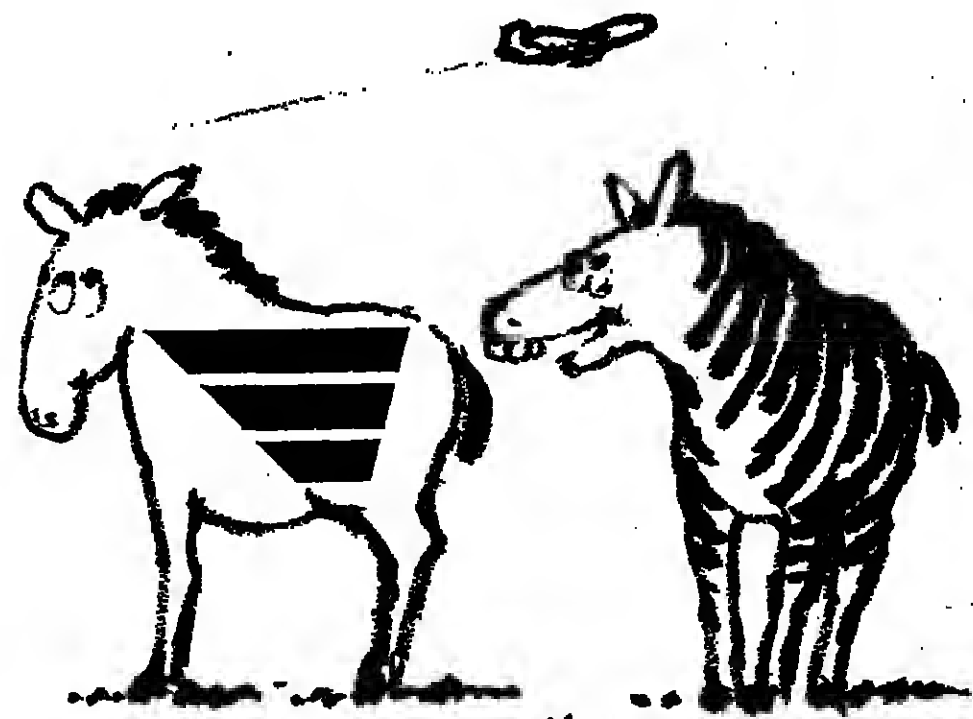


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By Alex Rondos

day, Mr. Toure's rule is questioned by human organizations, and he does welcome foreign reporters to ask pointed questions. of the former Secretary of the Organization of Africa, Diallo Telli, arrested in a plot in 1975, is still in jail.

U.S. Steel is expected to begin production next year of iron ore from Mt. Nimba, considered among the world's richest. The estimated \$1-billion project is co-financed by Libya, Algeria and Nigeria.

Financing of bauxite mining reflects Mr. Toure's subtle mixture of investors. The Compagnie de Bauxite de Guinee (CBG) is operated by a European-American consortium, including Alcan, Alcoa, Martin-

The power of Guinean market women is said to have convinced President Sekou Toure to loosen state economic control.

Harlem to the White House and where he in turn assiduously cultivated potential investors in mining and agribusiness.

If President Touré has eased away from the Soviet Union — Western fears that Conakry port would be turned into a Soviet base have now been dispelled — he has also developed closer ties with China. He has made several trips to the Ivory Coast, where he was reportedly extremely impressed by the advances in Ivorian agriculture, and also to the United States where he was enthusiastically welcomed from

However, those who watch Guinea closely and have penetrated the atmosphere of secrecy in Conakry are still quick to warn that Westerners should not rejoice at what they may see as a prodigal son returning home. It should not be forgotten that Mr. Toure's greatest accomplishment has been to embody African resistance to all forms of external domination.

By Nii K. Bentsi-Enchill

There are a number of similarities between Sierra Leone and Liberia, its neighbor to the south, but there are also too many differences to permit predicting a fate similar to that which befell Liberia recently.

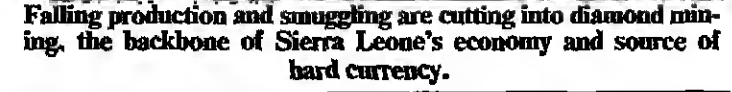
Like Liberia, Sierra Leone has also had a settler elite — the Creoles of Freetown. The rise of nationalist politics from the 1930s brought the Mende and Temne peoples of "the Protectorate" (as the territory outside the Crown Colony established

For the last few years, the lid has been held on Sierra Leonean politics. Although the SLPP won 15

Little progress has been made in agriculture from which the majority of the inhabitants gain their livelihood. The rural exodus to the cities continues, contributing to high urban unemployment.

Food import bills are weighing heavily on the economy, particularly for rice. And to complete the picture, inflation — both imported and locally generated by government borrowing from the banking system — is increasing.

The Mano River Union between Liberia and Sierra Leone was not only necessary but imperative for the two neighbors whose rural populations could jointly be major rice growers if given adequate support in credit and other inputs. Guinea has also joined the union, and although some fears were raised about the attitude of the new Liberian government to the union, there is no reason to believe the obvious necessity of economic cooperation will be rejected because of political differences.



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ECOWAS



Many experts believe peasants could produce enough food for nomads and city dwellers alike in the Sahel.

Food Aid Questioned

Sahel Could Be Self-Sufficient

A BIDJAN, Ivory Coast (IHT) — Every year food shortages grow worse in the Sahel, the belt of territory that separates the arid Sahara from tropical West Africa. In a year of normal rainfall the Sahel averages a 500,000-ton food shortfall. In a bad year this amount rises to 800,000 tons. Some experts now believe that by 1990 the Sahelian countries will be short about 1 million tons of food to feed their combined population of more than 30 million.

But there is also a growing chorus of critics that claims the area could be self-sufficient in food production and that the food aid routinely sent to alleviate starvation conditions doesn't really help. France, source of most of the aid to the Sahel, has officially and in public begun to question some of its own priorities in its aid policy to the world's poorest, drought-stricken nations.

Critics who do not see food aid as the solution to the Sahel's problems have observed that if international food aid has saved lives and has been a major support during the last droughts, institutionalization is still inconceivable. The eight Sahelian states themselves — Cape Verde Islands, Chad, Gambia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal and Upper Volta — have begun to appreciate that constant recourse to emergency aid is not the best way of rectifying the food problem.

Permanent Reliance

First of all, they reason, the foodstuffs supplied by international aid rarely reach those who are most needy. Also, this permanent reliance on cereal imports can seriously damage the recovery of national production.

These observations were the gist of an official document of the French Ministry of Cooperation. The same report also suggested that joint action of member states is the only way to deal with the Sahel food problem. Right now it seems that there are a multiplicity of projects in each country sponsored by many different foreign aid agencies.

The Comité de Lutte contre la Sécheresse dans le Sahel (CILSS) was established in 1973 as an attempt to reach concerted action. The Club du Sahel, its complimentary organization to fight drought and food shortages, is based in Paris. The creation of CILSS reflects the acknowledgement among the Sahelian states that there is no possible solution unless they

work together. Their geographical location condemns them to cooperation. CILSS has come up with a "Strategy Program for Drought Control in the Sahel" which serves as a blueprint for the development of the region until the year 2000. In spite of the somewhat precise title, the program aims are all-embracing.

There is a first generation program, listing 612 projects in the eight member states which could be financed between 1977 and 1982. By early last year it was clear that 74 percent of the projects had received some sort of interest from donors, representing commitments of \$2.44 billion of the estimated \$3.06 billion needed for the financing of the entire first generation program.

Development Potential

The Club du Sahel is essential to the implementation of this program. A coalition of the eight West African states and some 20 donor countries, an international agency, its principal purpose is to coordinate the search for financing and the implementation of the program. The club's central role in organizing the Sahelian development efforts becomes all the more important as the costs of the program are pushed up by world inflation. It already thought that the original estimate of just over \$3 billion for the first generation program is now too optimistic. It has gone up closer to \$5 billion.

The combination of short-and-long-term programs of CILSS reflect the goal of developing a regional infrastructure. CILSS officials are eager to point out that many of their projects cover more than one country in the region, but this may well prove to be a serious stumbling block as well. Individual governments in the area have become almost anesthetized by the seemingly endless flow of food aid, and proposals of long-term investment and efforts to fight drought don't have much instant political appeal.

CILSS will have to fight against interests often reflected by the national bureaucracies of the region. One official from the United Nations Development Programme observed recently that an internal battle for influence within governments could arise soon as the activities of CILSS and CEAO, the Francophone West African Economic Community, collide. Economists from member countries participate in the CEAO, while agriculture ministers sit on the CILSS. The enthusiasm for CILSS will also be put against the obstinacy or inability of some Sahelian governments to put their own domestic marketing structures in order.

The number of observers who now take Sahelian plans for emergency food aid with a pinch of salt is growing disturbingly large. The former chairman of the CILSS heads of state conference, President Sir David Jawara of The Gambia, said during his tenure that it should be remembered that the Sahel had the potential to develop and feed itself.

Within the group of aid donors there are experts who believe that the Sahel is, with one or two local exceptions, already producing enough food. It is just that the peasants do not put their crop on the market, leaving urban centers with serious shortages. Indebtedness and lack of incentive because of low prices to producers has led, in many instances, to the withdrawal of the Sahelian peasant to subsistence farming.

The decision must be made to raise prices peasants receive for food they put on the market, and the CILSS knows this. But politically intolerable urban inflation could be the result.



The desert closes in on parts of the Sahel.

Who Follows 'Le Vieux'?

(Continued from Page 125)

Industry is not integrated and remains too dominated by large foreign concerns, as the World Bank has pointed out to the Ivorian authorities. For an economy that professes to practice a "controlled liberalism" the absence of an indigenous entrepreneurial class is striking. As a result there is a new tendency favoring more domestic processing of local products — for export. It is felt that this will reduce the flow of the population to the already overcrowded cities, decentralize the economy somewhat and provide jobs in the necessary areas to create conditions for a more equitable regional distribution of income.

The social implications of the path Ivory Coast has followed are

immense. Over 30 percent of the budget is devoted to education, and with almost one million children in primary education, the great majority is being educated through cost-free television broadcasts in rural areas. After five years of such schooling, the one official recently remarked, these children are "lost to agriculture" and wander into the cities looking for quick riches and a pair of eyeglasses.

Another Ivorian remarked, somewhat ominously, that local industry had to be developed to employ these new urban migrants in order to "contain the revolt." More than 50 percent of the population Ivory Coast is under 20 years of age.



Ivorian lumberjacks work on a mahogany tree.

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ECOWAS

Togo: In Search of Separate Identity

by Nii K. Bentsi-Enchill
LOME, Togo (IHT) — Under President Gen. Gnassingbé Eyadema, this nation of less than a million people is trying to carve a separate identity from the French-speaking states of Africa. A major part of the was Gen. Eyadema's role in the formation of ECOWAS in 1975 with then Nigerian head of Gen. Yakubu Gowon.

is regional outlook can be easily understood in the light of the "misunderstandings" between Togo and its immediate neighbors, Benin to the east and

aided to move in for good in January of the following year "to stop the country from sliding into complete anarchy."
A dominant figure in the background since 1963, Gen. Eyadema, by now a lieutenant-colonel and army chief of staff, abolished the constitution and while forming a committee for national reconciliation on one hand, he set up a regime dominated by members of his own Kabre ethnic group in the form of a one-party state. The Rassemblement du Peuple Togolais was inaugurated in 1969, and Gen. Eyadema was elected president in a 1972 referendum in which he collected 99

percent of the votes. By the end of the decade, this party-state was well-developed. Gen. Eyadema had picked up such appellations as "national hero," "beloved guide," "father of the new Togo," and officials all wear a badge bearing his portrait. Gen. Eyadema also introduced the nightly news on television with angel wings sprouting from his shoulders.

Tensions have persisted, however, and several attempts have been made on the president's life. These were first blamed on the machinations of international business, and his most famous escape — from a plane crash at Sarakawa in 1974, commemorated with a monument — led to the nationalization of the phosphate mines. Subsequently, the sons of the assassinated Olympio became the focal point of allegations of subversion, and the fact that they have some Brazilian ancestry has contributed to creating the image of an "authentic" Togolese unity. The publicity following the discovery of a plot to overthrow the government through a mercenary invasion from Ghana concentrated on "those Brazilians" who were said to be again attempting to destroy the patient work of national reconstruction undertaken by Gen. Eyadema. Those accused in the 1979 trial were members of the intellectual, Olympio, de Souza and Lawson families.

French Orbit
this was, however, in the orbit, and Olympio's development the Ewe cause alienated from the French authorities saw more promise in Olympio's brother-in-law, Nicolas Grunzky, and in the 1955 elections to French National Assembly the CUT, boycotted, Grunzky became prime minister and his le l'Unité Togolaise (PUT) the seats while France kept of foreign affairs, defense economic affairs.

ing taken power from the Ewe elite in the 60s, Gen. Eyadema himself took up the me of Ewe reunification — "you cannot ide a people like you cut bread."

to the west, and the historical are clear.
was a German colony at the of the 19th century, but the and French attacked the territory in 1914 at the start of War I, carving it up between elves later. They subsequently istered the territory under a of Nations mandate.

resulting political impasse have been resolved by a UN dum in 1956 except for the at roughly half of the Ewe were subsequently part of, n-to-be independent Ghana, he other half were included autonomous Republic of Togo French community. Due to ader political base, Olympio of Grunzky in the 1955 elections, and went on to be president of an independent in 1960. His nationalism, in his coastal Ewe people, ed in a different light after adence, and some people he less-favored north of the y began to feel cheated of the of Olympio's ostensibly radities.

13 January 1963, the first 'stat of independent Africa ace, as well as the first pre-assassination. Whether he lly shot Olympio or not, Eyadema certainly played ment role in the first on-sidered official coup. Grunzky in from his Parisian exile invitation of the army and as president with Antoine a, a northerner, as vice-pres- he soldiers moved in again at of 1966 to impose a solution owing political crisis without ng Grunzky, but they de-

French Influence Colors Regional Economic Unity

continued from Page 75)
rives of the other members. y Coast finds itself all too otting the bill for the poorer s in the region.
creation of Senegalese Presi- stopold Senghor's cherished phone commonwealth is al upon existing institu- tals among Francophone eadest observers of Franco- rica, especially in West Af- ve noted before that the e to ECOWAS and Africa, the continent's most unified of states has reached that drit of close economic ties former colonial power.
pressed, ECOWAS' at- eak of the existence of the with persistent ambiguity, immunity already operates as ive customs union and has ated to growing transfers of al and agricultural produc- in its confines. Territorial ty has also been a major ad-

vantage. One can travel from Morocco to southern Zaire without ever having to speak a language other than French.

As independence movements gathered momentum in the late 1950s, the French — and some Africans — hoped that the political disengagement could be achieved within the framework of the existing colonial administrative units — French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa. The richer countries, especially Ivory Coast, eventually opted for total independence.
There are many who believe that the conditions still exist for unity among the Francophone states and that have been constant attempts to achieve it. There is an equally powerful group of observers and West African diplomats who feel that the "balkanization" of French West Africa served French purposes of continued influence which officials pursued through a series of bilateral agreements based on the old principle of divide and rule.

30 percent of export revenue and the pressure began to tell with inflation of consumer prices — the man in the street noticed when the price of a pack of cigarettes doubled almost overnight.
Togo's international creditors agreed to reschedule repayment of over \$35 million due by the end of this year and to stretch repayment of arrears on interest and principle of about \$100 million over three years. The International Monetary Fund also came in to provide support for this open-door economy on condition of visibly reduced government spending.

Austerity Budget
Budgets are now produced under the watchword of austerity. This year's deficit has been pegged at about \$7.5 million (compared to \$32 million last year) of which a third will be financed by the IMF, and the rest by the Togolese Central Bank. A new emphasis on agricultural development towards self-sufficiency, strict financial controls on government expenditure and increased taxation coupled with more efficient collection is expected to put a brake on the progress of inflation. However, revenue from the phosphate mines remains important and no amount of increased production can compensate for the fluctuations of market prices. If the oil refinery has justified itself by the profitability of selling its product on the European spot market, the

development of the tourist industry is more of a gamble. The \$25 million Sarakawa Hotel has done better than predicted, but prospects for the unfinished \$100 million February 2 Hotel are made more uncertain by the economic situation in the tourists' home countries.

[According to Mr. Olympio, Gen. Eyadema lived austere until the sharp rise in phosphate prices awakened his appetite. Then, he said, Togo and its people soon found themselves the possessors of a \$100 million steel mill that produces oo steel, four hotels, one 44 stories high, that draw oo tourists, a \$100 million refinery that refines no oil and an airport in the bush near Fya, Gen. Eyadema's home village, that can receive 707's and DC-10's.]

As in other developing countries, austerity budgets and stricter controls on public expenditure are palliatives rather than cures. The price of maintaining a liberal trade policy on a narrow economic base can be seen in the pessimistic forecast that Togo may need a further combination of debt rescheduling and balance of payments support from international financial institutions. Under President Eyadema, Togo has seen real progress in laying down the infrastructure of a modern industrial economy, but the fact remains that while 80 percent of the population depends on agriculture, it is the modern sector that has received the most investment.



Proceeds from the sale of cocoa smuggled from Ghana to Lome end up in Togo's export figures.

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WT908	Tu	Fr	1800	1815	TO BANJUL					TO DAKAR					TO ACCRA				
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WT902	Mo	Th	1100	1050	TO CONAKRY					TO FREETOWN					WT907	Su	1530	1840	
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WT909	Tu	Fr	1845	2100	WT905	We	1110	1600		WT953	We	1130	1330	WT906	Su	1340	1430		
TO MONROVIA					TO ACCRA					TO LAGOS					TO LAGOS				
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WT914	Fr		1235	1350	TO ABIDJAN					TO LAGOS					WT915	Sa	1330	1820	
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ECOWAS

River Projects Roll On

By Alex Rondos

CONAKRY, Guinea (IHT) — For well over a century, travelers, engineers, colonizers — and now politicians — have dreamed about the potential of West Africa's water resources. "Let us throw ourselves into the water of the Niger River," Guinea's President Sekou Toure recently told a gathering of the Niger River Commission, "and we will land on the shores of prosperity."

Whether the purpose is to harness hydroelectric power or accumulate and control water for irrigation, there is scarcely a West African country that has not built or at least proposed constructing a dam.

One of the favorites is the Senegal River Basin project, a joint venture of the governments

of Senegal, Mali and Mauritania under the Senegal River Development Authority (OMVS) through which they hope to obtain financing from Western and Arab sources for the construction of two dams for hydroelectric power and water storage for irrigation.

The OMVS has the problems and headaches facing all such development projects. Financing costs increase each month. The initial estimate for the Manantali dam in Mali was \$300 million, and for the Diama Dam, some 125 miles upriver from the Atlantic, it was originally \$200 million. Costs are now put at \$800 million for both dams. The presidents of the three member countries have had to return to the Gulf states to ask for more money from Arab donors, and construction on the Diama dam, under French supervision, has been delayed although ground was broken in December with great fanfare.

The search for financing can be a vicious circle. Some Arab donors balked at making commitments while it was unclear whether the rest of the financing had been accounted for. This created a certain wariness among other creditors. Another donor insisted on seeing evidence of plans illustrating how the whole project would actually function.

Most of the substantive research on the effects of damming the Senegal River has only been done in the past year. An extensive report by the Gannett Fleming consultant firm is now in the hands of the decision-makers who have to figure out how farmers are going to learn and adapt to new techniques made necessary by a switch from flood recession agriculture to cultivation based on a year-round supply of water. The ecological conse-

quences of the interruption of the river's natural flow are hardly known, although a change in the spawning of fish has already been noticed.

In the Ivory Coast, however, experts are beginning to acquire information on the effects of dam construction and the social consequences of population displacement due to the flooding of large areas. The creation of Kossou Lake, fed by the Bandama River, has affected some 100,000 farmers and resulted in the loss of 57,000 acres of cocoa and coffee plantations. The Bandama Valley Authority (AVB) has relocated some 75,000 people, most of whom adapted rapidly to the new environment and found their new agricultural activities more profitable than before. But the traditional structure of life has suffered. Ethnic groups that lived and worked closely before the lake was created are now split.

In Upper Volta, getting people into the areas affected by the river projects has been the problem. As the Volta valleys are cleared of onchocerciasis, river blindness disease, huge areas are becoming available for cultivation. But a foreign expert working with the Volta Valley Authority (AVV) said there were, as in the case of other grandiose river projects, "many plans but not enough money."

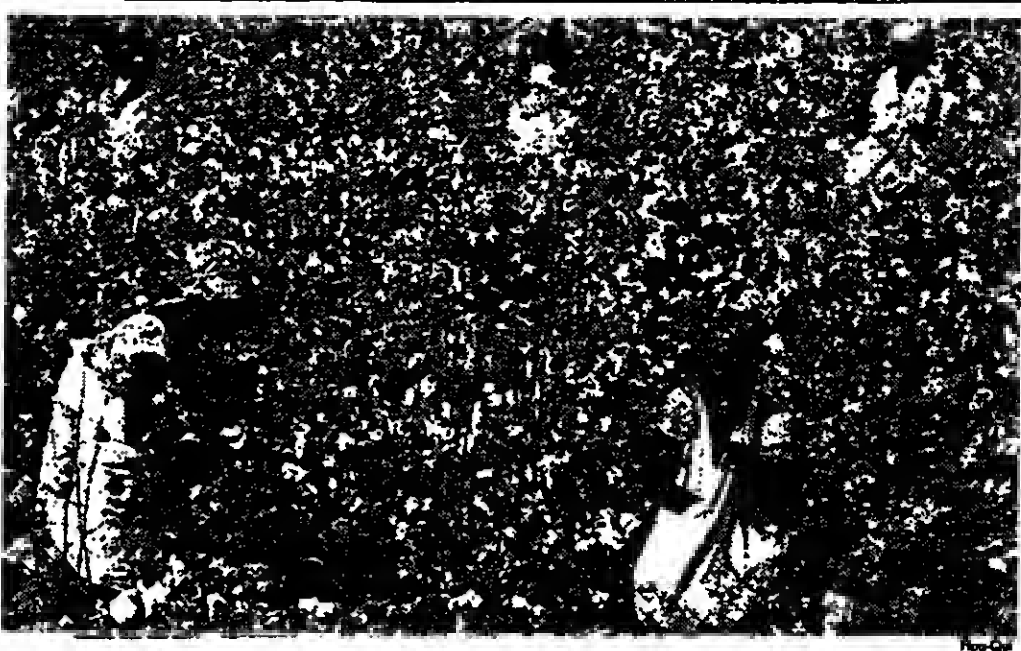
Once river blindness is eradicated — the campaign has met with a slight hitch because the vector travels much further than the initial estimate of 25 miles — the AVV will have nearly 5 million acres under its authority, about one-sixth available for agricultural exploitation.

Plans are that one million people will have been relocated in the valleys by the end of the century. The government of Upper Volta would prefer that migration were controlled, rather than spontaneous as has been the pattern, but some foreign assistance agencies find this approach smacks of forced migration.

The government in Ouagadougou would like to ease the pressure on the densely populated Mossi Plateau that surrounds the capital by sending some of the Mossi down to the Volta Valleys. Some observers have seen this plan as an attempt by a Mossi-dominated government to establish a Mossi enclave in the south and west of the country where the country's most numerous tribe is scarcely represented.

One of the oldest river basin development projects — the Office du Niger — was created by the French colonial administration in 1932 to harness the Niger River that carves its way through Mali. Although the project has not turned the Niger basin into Mali's breadbasket, in a good year, it tips the balance away from food shortages.

The record of exploitation of water resources, whether in Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Mali or Senegal, so far shows that planners — when financing is available — tend to race ahead without adequate consideration of the far-reaching social and ecological consequences of such projects.



Irrigation projects in Niger help increase groundnut and cotton production.

Niger's Uranium Key to Survival

NIAMEY, Niger (IHT) — Now the world's fourth largest producer of uranium, Niger has the means to move out of the poorest countries group, but the challenge facing Niger's rulers is how to cope with this sudden increase in revenue.

Economists expect uranium production to create an average 10 percent annual rise in the gross national product over the next decade. This is an indication of hope for a drought-stricken country where until six years ago what little foreign investment and aid came into the impoverished economy was drained off through corruption. A military coup toppled the government of Hamani Diori in 1975. Since then the government has created two 5-year plans, the second of which was announced in February. It called for 730 billion CFA francs in investment (about \$3 billion) and announced a planned growth rate of 9.5 percent a year for the period.

The Niger military leadership says it has learned from the experiences of other countries, especially its southern neighbor, Nigeria. Investment will be concentrated on creating a technical and management class rather than simply on extracting the country's mineral wealth.

Self-Sufficiency
Niger, one of the drought-plagued countries of the Sahel, has set its sights on the achievement of self-sufficiency in food production. Targets have been set to keep pace with the growth in population. Niger imports 30,000 tons of rice at a time when its population is growing at an annual average of 2.7 percent. The government hopes to eliminate the rice deficit by increasing domestic production from the current 23,000 tons to almost 60,000 tons.

Niger has taken a novel approach to the problem by avoiding the large projects that take a long time to have any effect. Rather, the policy is to encourage small irrigated units along the Niger River.

Ambitious targets have also been set for cash crop production. Production of groundnuts and cotton, which has yet to recover from the drought of the early 1970s, will be expanded to about 120,000 tons for the former and 15,000 tons for groundnuts and peanuts.

Uranium's vital contribution will be to reduce Niger's dependence on neighboring states. One of the ma-

joir projects planned is a rail line south to Benin, the main outlet for Niger's trade. Financing is currently being sought by both countries. Other projects aimed at overcoming Niger's current isolation include road to the north and other southern and western links with Upper Volta and Togo.

Niger's isolation has not only brought economic hardship upon the country, it has also aggravated potential internal splits. Like most other Sahelian states, Niger is an artificial geographical creation of French colonial administration. To the north are the nomadic Tuaregs, easily attracted by the economic benefits offered by the North African states, especially Libya. In the south, the large Hausa population finds itself magnetically attracted to the possibilities of the market in northern Nigeria. Hausa traders, although the government in Niamey is loath to admit it, tend to sell their crops and livestock in Kano, Nigeria, rather than in Niger's capital.

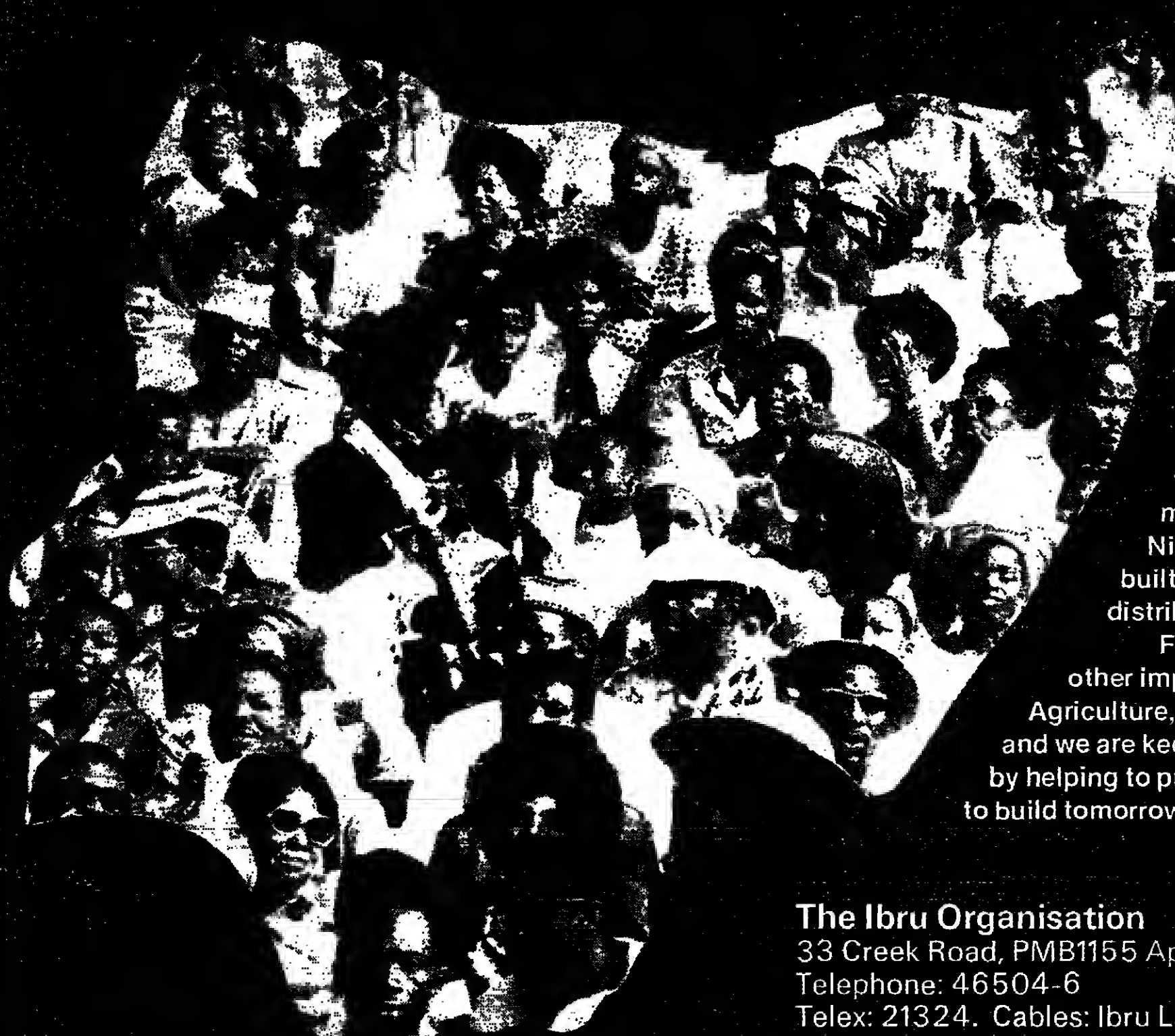
Diplomatic Abilities
Such a situation has left Niger in a position that has often demanded exceptional diplomatic abilities from its leaders. One example was the problem of recognition of the Biafran regime during the Nigerian civil war. Then president Hamani Diori refused to join the French in recognizing the Biafran government.

At that time the northern Nigerians had clearly sided with the federal government of Nigeria. The tie proved far more important than the one with France. However, when Diori was overthrown, France did not lift a finger to support him.

To the north a similar influence is apparent. In all the discussions among the states of West Africa, the creation of a mutual defense pact, Niger has continually stalled. The military alliance of Niger with a group of purely black African states would immediately raise diplomatic problems with Libya in particular. Libya's ambitions in sub-Saharan Africa are difficult to discern, but they are clearly felt.

While the Niger government has scarcely publicized its new found wealth, many observers agree that there has been a remarkable degree of discreet management of the enormous flow of revenue from uranium, thus setting the country apart from many others in Africa who have wasted their mineral wealth.

Moving ahead with people in mind



Today's efforts are building tomorrow's Nigeria, and the Ibru Organisation is proud to be able to make a major contribution to those efforts.

Over the years we have grown from a small trading company into one of the leading business operations in Nigeria, but we have kept in mind one basic fact — progress is about people.

We started with fish, and fish means protein. To bring this protein to the people cheaply, we pioneered a modern fish and freezing industry in Nigeria, and to make it widely available we built up a comprehensive cold storage and distribution network.

From this sound base we have moved into other important areas of activity: areas like Agriculture, Healthcare, Housing and Education and we are keen to pursue our role in today's Nigeria by helping to provide people with the basics they need to build tomorrow's Nigeria.

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IBRU

U.S. Jury Awards AT&T Challenger \$1.8 Billion in Damages

By Merrill Brown

WASHINGTON, June 15 (WP) — The judgment against American Telephone & Telegraph Inc. in sweeping antitrust charges late Friday and the award of \$1.8 billion in damages to MCI Communications Corp. is expected to have significant ramifications for the giant telephone company and the entire communications industry in the United States.

Although AT&T officials insist that the verdict will be overturned on appeal, the decision clearly gives momentum to the Justice Department's suit to break up AT&T. The decision could lead to legislative efforts to revamp communications regulation and may provide encouragement to companies seeking to challenge giant firms in other industries.

"This decision says to people that you can fight arrogant corporate power," said William McGowan, MCI's chief executive. "They can't grind you to death with their deep pockets [outspending]. You can fight the wealthy."

On the other hand, an AT&T official said the decision indicated that juries cannot handle complex economic cases and may have an inherent bias against large companies.

"The decision shows a basic preference for David over Goliath," said Harold Levy, general solicitor of AT&T. "It confirms the views of commentators that juries are not ca-

pable of digesting, handling and assimilating information and coming up with a really fair conclusion from complex economic data."

Mr. Levy said the Bell System will present motions to overturn the verdict and the damage assessment

"I don't regard this as a final judgment in any sense. We're not paying this obscene amount, and I'm sure we will never pay this amount or anything resembling it" — AT&T Lawyer.

within 30 days. He said that "some of the jury instructions were prejudicially erroneous," and that rulings on the admissibility of evidence for both sides were incorrect.

"I don't regard this as a final judgment in any sense," Mr. Levy said. "We're not paying this obscene amount, and I'm sure we will never pay this amount or anything resembling it."

The suit, brought by MCI in 1974, charged that AT&T, through a variety of policy actions and decisions at the highest levels of the company, used its virtual monopoly over almost all local telephone service to prevent the growth of MCI.

MCI, a firm based in Washington, provides long distance telephone service to business and residential customers, serving a network of 65 cities.

The suit was filed in Chicago because MCI had sought first to challenge AT&T's monopoly in long

distance telephone service in the Chicago-St. Louis market. MCI had received authority from the Federal Communications Commission in 1969 to provide such service.

The company charged in its lawsuit, with the jury ultimately agree-

ing, that MCI was unfairly denied access to specialized long-distance calling services and other hookups that firms such as MCI need to use to link with local telephones.

The jury, in finding AT&T guilty of 10 of 15 allegations presented, concluded that AT&T negotiated with MCI about the services in bad faith, disconnected already hooked-up lines, filed unfair state tariffs (rates) and price-cuts in violation of U.S. antitrust law.

MCI had asked for a \$900 million damage award, claiming that the AT&T actions had stunted the growth of the firm's fledgling service.

The jury voted to award MCI \$600 million in damages, believed by antitrust experts to be the largest in history. Such an assessment in antitrust cases of this kind are rare. The jury did not disclose why it chose the amount, although Mr. Levy suggested that it was a

simple calculation based on two-thirds of the claims under consideration.

Nevertheless, the implications of the decision, which came after less than two full days of jury deliberations, stretch far beyond U.S. Dis-

body involved in the industry," the source said. "People are going to have to be awfully circumspect in using monopoly power this way."

The Justice Department suit charges that AT&T attempted to monopolize and did monopolize the phone business. That case, filed in 1974, is scheduled to be heard this fall.

If MCI, with revenues of \$144 million in 1979, only a fraction of AT&T's, continues to win its civil antitrust case on appeal, other small phone companies would be encouraged to chip away at AT&T's phone business, and Congress might feel the need to erect safeguards that would prevent the Bell System from using its monopoly power to prevent competition.

Such safeguards might appear in legislation now before Congress that would permit the Bell System to expand into communications services beyond the phone business, including data processing. Coincidentally, the jury decision came during a moment in congressional consideration of legislation that would revamp the federal regulatory apparatus overseeing the telecommunications industry.

Loosening Restrictions
After a three-year battle, the House communications subcommittee is scheduled to mark up legislation that would loosen the restrictions on AT&T, effectively lift a 1956 consent decree with the government and permit the Bell System

to enter fields in which it had been barred from competing.

The decision, some observers believe, may delay that process. "It's hard to argue that stringent safeguards against AT&T abusing its power aren't necessary with the backdrop of this decision," said one expert.

With AT&T facing about 40 other civil suits, some of them seeking substantial amounts in damages, most observers believe the MCI decision can only strengthen those cases. MCI has a second similar suit against AT&T pending before a federal court here.

George Saunders, an AT&T attorney, said it was the largest damage verdict ever — "this one will make the Guinness Book of Records," he was quoted by The Associated Press as saying.

"Juries comprehend these violations," said John Bodner, an attorney representing Litton Industries, which has filed a suit against AT&T seeking about \$350 million in damages. "This is a major decision with great ramifications, but when one realizes you're dealing with probably the most profitable company in the world, that dollar figure isn't all that large."

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For the Week Ending June 13, 1980

MORGAN STANLEY INTERNATIONAL

DEUTSCHE BANK <small>Aktien-gesellschaft</small>		DOMINION SECURITIES LIMITED
SOCIETE GENERALE		SOCIETE GENERALE DE BANQUE S.A.
SWISS BANK CORPORATION (OVERSEAS) <small>Limited</small>		WOOD GUNDY LIMITED
ALGEMENE BANK NEDERLAND N.V.	A. E. AMES & CO. <small>Limited</small>	AMSTERDAM-ROTTERDAM BANK N.V.
B.S.I. UNDERWRITERS	BANCA COMMERCIALE ITALIANA	BANCA DEL GOTTARDO
BANK OF AMERICA INTERNATIONAL <small>Limited</small>	THE BANK OF BERMUDA <small>Limited</small>	BANK GUTZWILLER, KURZ, BUNGENER (OVERSEAS) <small>Limited</small>
BANK JULIUS BAER INTERNATIONAL <small>Limited</small>	BANKERS TRUST INTERNATIONAL <small>Limited</small>	BANQUE BRUXELLES LAMBERT S.A.
BANQUE FRANCAISE DU COMMERCE EXTERIEUR		BANQUE GENERALE DU LUXEMBOURG S.A.
BANQUE DE L'INDOCHINE ET DE SUEZ	BANQUE LOUIS-DREYFUS	BANQUE NATIONALE DE PARIS
BANQUE DE NEUFILIZ, SCHLUMBERGER, MALLET		BANQUE DE PARIS ET DES PAYS-BAS
BANQUE PRIVEE DE GESTION FINANCIERE "B.P.G.F."	BANQUE WORMS	BARING BROTHERS & CO. <small>Limited</small>
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BERLINER HANDELS- UND FRANKFURTER BANK	BURNS FRY CAZENOVE & CO. <small>Limited</small>	CHASE MANHATTAN <small>Limited</small>
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CREDIT SUISSE FIRST BOSTON <small>Limited</small>	CREDITANSTALT-BANKVEREIN	DAI-ICHI KANGYO BANK NEDERLAND N.V.
DAIWA EUROPE N.V.	DEN DANSKE BANK <small>of 1877 Aktienbank</small>	DEN NORSKE CREDITBANK
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GREENSHIELDS <small>Incorporated</small>	HAMBROS BANK <small>Limited</small>	HILL SAMUEL & CO. <small>Limited</small>
KANSALLIS-OSAKE-PANKEI		IBJ INTERNATIONAL <small>Limited</small>
KLEINWORT, BENSON <small>Limited</small>	KUWAIT FOREIGN TRADING CONTRACTING & INVESTMENT CO. (S.A.K.)	
KUWAIT INTERNATIONAL INVESTMENT CO. S.A.K.	KUWAIT INVESTMENT COMPANY (S.A.K.)	LTCB INTERNATIONAL <small>Limited</small>
MANUFACTURERS HANOVER <small>Limited</small>	MCLEOD YOUNG WEIR INTERNATIONAL	MITSUBISHI BANK (EUROPE) S.A.
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SCANDINAVIAN BANK <small>Limited</small>	J. HENRY SCHRODER WAGG & CO. <small>Limited</small>	SALOMON BROTHERS INTERNATIONAL
SVENSKA HANDELSBANKEN	VEREINS-UND WESTBANK <small>Aktien-gesellschaft</small>	SKANDINAVISKA ENSKILDA BANKEN
WARDLEY <small>Limited</small>	WESTDEUTSCHE LANDESBANK GIROZENTRALE	J. VONTobel & CO. <small>Limited</small>
		S. G. WARBURG & CO. LTD. <small>Limited</small>
		YAMAICHI INTERNATIONAL (EUROPE) <small>Limited</small>

June 5, 1980

	Sales in				Net	Ch'ge		Sales in				Net	Ch'ge		Sales in			
	100%	High	Low	Last				100%	High	Low	Last				100%	High	Low	Last
ObleEopl	746	37%	3%	3%	-15		Folger	202	41-16	4	-1-16		Flora	332	3%	2%		
Dolland	471						PomF01	225	44%	4	4+1-15		FlacBac p1	202				
Dov10B 1.60	128	26%	3%	26-14-11%			PomF02	219	114%	15%	14-11		FlacM1	177%				
DrumF 1.70	227	27%	27%	27-25-26%			PomF03	227	125%	12%	12-11		FlacM2	289	31%	3		
DrumF1	216	17%	16-14%	16-14%			PomF04	138	13%	4%	4-11		FlacL1	289	31%	3		
DrumF01	183	7%	6%	7%			PomF05	117	100%	100%	100%		FlacL2	289	31%	3		
DrumF02	1175						PomF06	117	100%	100%	100%		FlacL3	289	31%	3		
Duckale	78	11%	11%	11%			PomF07	127	13%	13%	13-11		FlacL4	289	31%	3		
Dumme	1175						PomF08	127	13%	13%	13-11		FlacL5	289	31%	3		
							PomF09	127	13%	13%	13-11		FlacL6	289	31%	3		
							PomF10	127	13%	13%	13-11		FlacL7	289	31%	3		
							PomF11	127	13%	13%	13-11		FlacL8	289	31%	3		
							PomF12	127	13%	13%	13-11		FlacL9	289	31%	3		
							PomF13	127	13%	13%	13-11		FlacL10	289	31%	3		
							PomF14	127	13%	13%	13-11		FlacL11	289	31%	3		
							PomF15	127	13%	13%	13-11		FlacL12	289	31%	3		
							PomF16	127	13%	13%	13-11		FlacL13	289	31%	3		
							PomF17	127	13%	13%	13-11		FlacL14	289	31%	3		
							PomF18	127	13%	13%	13-11		FlacL15	289	31%	3		
							PomF19	127	13%	13%	13-11		FlacL16	289	31%	3		
							PomF20	127	13%	13%	13-11		FlacL17	289	31%	3		
							PomF21	127	13%	13%	13-11		FlacL18	289	31%	3		
							PomF22	127	13%	13%	13-11		FlacL19	289	31%	3		
							PomF23	127	13%	13%	13-11		FlacL20	289	31%	3		
							PomF24	127	13%	13%	13-11		FlacL21	289	31%	3		
							PomF25	127	13%	13%	13-11		FlacL22	289	31%	3		
							PomF26	127	13%	13%	13-11		FlacL23	289	31%	3		
							PomF27	127	13%	13%	13-11		FlacL24	289	31%	3		

Dunkin' 30	19	15	12	15	+1	FINH21.50	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dominion 30	48	39	36	36	0	FINH22	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Durham 30	40	36	36	36	0	FINH23	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Durham 40	39	36	36	36	0	FINH24	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Durham 50	39	36	36	36	0	FINH25	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dynalco 1	415	344	328	340	+4	FINH26	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dynalco 2	415	344	328	340	+4	FINH27	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dynalco 3	415	344	328	340	+4	FINH28	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dynalco 4	415	344	328	340	+4	FINH29	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dynalco 5	415	344	328	340	+4	FINH30	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dynalco 6	415	344	328	340	+4	FINH31	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dynalco 7	415	344	328	340	+4	FINH32	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dynalco 8	415	344	328	340	+4	FINH33	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dynalco 9	415	344	328	340	+4	FINH34	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dynalco 10	415	344	328	340	+4	FINH35	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dynalco 11	415	344	328	340	+4	FINH36	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dynalco 12	415	344	328	340	+4	FINH37	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dynalco 13	415	344	328	340	+4	FINH38	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dynalco 14	415	344	328	340	+4	FINH39	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dynalco 15	415	344	328	340	+4	FINH40	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dynalco 16	415	344	328	340	+4	FINH41	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dynalco 17	415	344	328	340	+4	FINH42	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dynalco 18	415	344	328	340	+4	FINH43	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dynalco 19	415	344	328	340	+4	FINH44	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dynalco 20	415	344	328	340	+4	FINH45	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dynalco 21	415	344	328	340	+4	FINH46	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dynalco 22	415	344	328	340	+4	FINH47	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dynalco 23	415	344	328	340	+4	FINH48	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dynalco 24	415	344	328	340	+4	FINH49	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dynalco 25	415	344	328	340	+4	FINH50	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dynalco 26	415	344	328	340	+4	FINH51	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dynalco 27	415	344	328	340	+4	FINH52	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dynalco 28	415	344	328	340	+4	FINH53	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dynalco 29	415	344	328	340	+4	FINH54	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dynalco 30	415	344	328	340	+4	FINH55	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dynalco 31	415	344	328	340	+4	FINH56	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dynalco 32	415	344	328	340	+4	FINH57	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dynalco 33	415	344	328	340	+4	FINH58	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dynalco 34	415	344	328	340	+4	FINH59	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dynalco 35	415	344	328	340	+4	FINH60	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dynalco 36	415	344	328	340	+4	FINH61	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dynalco 37	415	344	328	340	+4	FINH62	24	34 1/2	34 1/2	
Dynalco 38	415	344	328	340						

**A RELATIONSHIP
MANAGER
IS MORE THAN AN
ACCOUNT OFFICER.**

In theory, an account officer is the personal link between his customer and all the services his bank has to offer. In practice, however, the account officer is often a specialist who represents only one of a bank's divisions. So a corporate chief financial officer frequently has to deal with many specialists from his bank, none of whom has a comprehensive picture of his financial situation.

At Bankers Trust, we have replaced the account officer with a relationship manager. As the name implies, he or she has worldwide responsibility for identifying *all* of a customer's needs in the banking relationship. And for bringing every pertinent resource of our bank to bear on them.

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That's one more way in which our new path to the future generates benefits for you today.



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Bid	Ask	Bid	Ask
Frm BG	12.81	14.00	Lord Abbott
Enormous			Affiliated
		8.47	9.13
Stipend Invest	12.27	13.05	Scudder Funds
Capit	11.84	12.42	Com 5f
Growth			12.76
Speci	19.19	NL	
Green/Int	274	21	
GrBayC3	545	26%	24
GrJen1.23	33	12%	11%
Green/Int	263	12	11%
Grave/F	2492	3-32	3-32
GuarFm A	70	17	

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Société Anonyme
Registered Office: LUXEMBOURG, 14 Rue Aldringen
Commercial Register: Luxembourg Section A 7533.

**NOTICE OF ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING
OF SHAREHOLDERS**

The Annual General Meeting of Shareholders of Monterey Trust S.A. will be held at the registered office of the company at Luxembourg, 14, Rue Aldringen, on June 24th, 1980, at 15 o'clock p.m. for the purpose of considering and voting upon the following matters:

1. To hear and accept the reports of:
 - a. the directors;
 - b. the statutory auditor.
2. To approve the balance sheet and the profit and loss account for

3. To discharge the directors and the auditor with respect to their performance of duties during the year ended March 31st, 1980.
4. To elect the directors to serve until the next annual general meeting of shareholders.
5. To elect the auditor to serve until the next annual general meeting of shareholders.
6. Miscellaneous.

The shareholders are advised that no quorum for the statutory general meeting is required and that decisions will be taken at the majority of the shares present or represented at the meeting, with the restriction that no shareholder neither by himself nor by proxy can vote for a number of shares in excess of one fifth of the shares issued or two fifths of the shares present or represented at the meeting.

— **Banque Générale du Luxembourg, S.A.**

14, Rue Aigringen, LUXEMBOURG.
— Casenove & Co.,
12, Tokenhouse Yard, London E.C.2.R 7.A.N.

IN PARIS: Tel. 285-59 10
IN ROTTERDAM: Tel. 010-33-05 02

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Index	29 Aug. 80	28 Nov. 80	Options for Feb. 1981
650	29.00-30.00	42.00-44.00	start
650	32.00-34.00	35.00-39.00	171
670	17.00-21.00	36.00-39.00	4th Aug. 80
670			

Effective Monday, June 16, 1981. Prices include one
market maker's floor bid, net \$200 pips.
For options available on request.
Gold bullion \$37.65-\$1.00.

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Algemene Bank Nederland N.V.,
Amsterdam-Rotterdam Bank N.V.,
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COMPANY N.V.
Amsterdam, 6th June, 1980.

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\$130,000 Canadian dollars.

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West Germany Nears A Third Soccer Final

By Rob Hughes

FRANKFURT, June 15 (UPI) — The sun flower came into bloom in Naples, on the skin of the in boot, last evening and ended the suspicion that the Dutch have gone to seed. With far less than the 3-2 scoreline, the West Germans assailed the Netherlands, and so finally assured of playing its consecutive European Championship final.

Nothing But Prize
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After 19 minutes, Germany was in front, a goal created by a marvelous turn and shot from Schuster which struck a post and rebounded to Klaus Allofs. Suddenly Allofs, who had been having his problems earlier, scored and was out of his shell. He became unstoppable, scoring twice more.

From the blunt instrument to the incisive goosener, what had happened to Allofs? "I don't believe it myself," admitted the 23-year-old German. "I never scored three goals in a single game before, and still I don't believe it is I who put Germany into the final."

It was he, with a little help from his friends. Muller took a fearful battering from the Dutch, particularly Hango Hovenkamp, and was taken off with his left thigh strapped. He says he is doubtful of playing the final, but bet on his team.

And the Netherlands? Where have all the flowers gone, with Cruyff, and Neeskens and Rensenbrink, everyone, gone with mass move of Dutch stars to the North

McEnroe Takes Final on Grass

LONDON, June 15 (AP) — John McEnroe made fast work of Kim Warwick, 6-3, 6-1, in the final of the London Queen's Club grass court tennis championships today — his last match before Wimbledon.

The left-hander dominated the one-hour match, as he has dominated the whole tournament. He plans to rest and practice before Wimbledon begins a week from tomorrow.

Warwick, ranked No. 57 in the world, was unseeded and sprang a big upset by defeating Vitas Gerulaitis, the No. 2 seed, in the semifinals. But the Australian offered little challenge to McEnroe.

Wimbledon is to announce its seedings tomorrow and the draw Tuesday. McEnroe and Gerulaitis, along with Jimmy Connors, are expected to be the top challengers to Bjorn Borg, who has won the Wimbledon title four years in a row.

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American Soccer League for the American dollar. They retired from international a shade too early, perhaps, but there is no denying that they represented a single generation of near-genius that the Netherlands, not a true soccer nation, will probably never replace.

Yesterday's Dutch team had only one major attribute — guts. Down and out at 3-0 it took advantage of Germany's relaxed finish to score first through a penalty from Johnny Rep, then with a devastating shot along the ground from outside the area by the Netherlands best player, Willy Van Der Kerkhof.

That final trust, a reminder of what was great about the nation's past team, was delivered with touch of pathos. Thanks Holland for what you have given, and goodbye for now from the elite of world soccer, come again.

Up the Outside
From Naples, to Rome, Greece, whose manager Alkias Panagoulas admits the team is "supposed to be the Cinderella," last night attacked and attacked. — lost, 3-1, to the outgoing champion of Europe, Czechoslovakia. Against the Netherlands, Greece had been tormented by a dubious penalty, and the following day the excitable Panagoulas jumped to a contrivance of his, a journalist who had printed his honest belief that the penalty against his nation was correctly given.

There was no tension about the manager last night, nor inhibition about his team. Goalkeeper Vassilios Konstantinou had given away a silly goal, diving too late to a free kick from Antonis Panenka after only six minutes.

That goal could very well reward Panenka with a solid gold watch as the fastest scorer of the tournament. If it proves so, perhaps the Czech will melt it down and post hall to Konstantinou for his assistance?

No Question of Right
Joking aside, Greece had earned its right to be here, having defeated Russia, Hungary and Finland along the way. Last night it earned our respect, at least, for the open nature of its fight, leveling through a nice-fight goal by Nikos Anastopoulos, a 23-year-old player coveted by the New York Cosmos and a player whose sprightly runs and smart turns could, under first-class coaching, develop into a real international talent.

The Czechs ultimately won through goals by Ladislav Vizek and Zdenek Nehoda and had in Panenka one of the cleverest ball artists of these championships. But afterward came a question and answer that tell precisely how cynical the world of sport has become, how intolerant of small nations that come out for sheer enjoyment.

"Shouldn't you have played more defensively, wouldn't it have been more prudent to play with less attack?" asked a journalist of the Greek manager.

"I have to admit we did play a little more attack," answered Panagoulas. And then, bless his adventurous spirit, he added: "But you know, we wanted some distinction. This is a new phenomenon in our trying to make three games in one week, and I admit we were affected by it. It's very simple; fatigue comes to us all, it will come to Germany too, and maybe if we will play the same way, maybe we will change the whole situation around. We are going to play Germany that way. Anyhow, we are going to try to the last minutes."

Greece, the bumble of soccer nations here, has something the rest have lost: an outmoded but beautiful attitude.

Ex-Titlist Loses Decision
ANAHEIM, Calif., June 15 (AP) — Jesse Burnett won a unanimous 12-round decision over Victor Galindez, a two-time World Boxing Association light-heavyweight champion, in a World Boxing Council elimination bout yesterday in the new 176-190-pound cruiserweight division.

Belgium, which drew with England, 1-1, in its opening match, deserved to win, but may yet regret the three late chances squandered by Francois Van Der Elst. These would have improved the Belgians' goal difference and given them a better chance of making the final next Sunday in Rome.

Spain, which appeared to be drained after its 0-0 draw with Italy, suffered a disappointing early in today's match when Jesus Satriestegui had his second goal of the tournament disallowed.

Referee Charles Corber voided the goal, in the 15th minute, for offside following a cross by Quinti.

One of the many who failed to finish was Mark Thatcher, son of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain. He crashed his Osella sports car around dawn, but was not injured.

Fourth place went to another French independent, a turbo-Pengoer powered WMP driven by Francois Guy Frequentin and Christian Dorchy. Dick Barbour of the United States, who with John Fitzpatrick and Brian Redman of Britain, set a blistering early pace and headed the field for much of the first 10 hours, ended fifth after a series of engine problems.

The winning Roudouze covered 338 laps of the long circuit, 2,859.7 miles, at an average speed of 119.169 miles an hour. It finished about 14 miles ahead of Ickx.

And it finished despite two spins in the rainstorms that hit the closing hours of the race, in which 25 of the 55 starters finished.

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Jack Nicklaus and Isao Aoki, who tied after the third round, leave the 18th green in the U.S. Open.

Red Smith

When McGraw Hit the Umpire

NEW YORK, June 15 (NYT) — Bill Madlock, a spirited Pittsburgh infielder known to admirers as "Mad Dog," has been fined \$5,000 and suspended 15 days for feloniously wiping an umpire's nose with his glove. Billy Martin, the peaceloving manager of the Oakland A's, wants an umpire suspended because Martin says, the umpire gave him a villainous and unprovoked shove. In both cases, the dispute was over a strike called on a checked swing, one of the most ticklish decisions an umpire has to make.

Madlock says that any contact between his glove and Gerry Crawford's profile was unprovoked, accidental and purely coincidental, not to say benign. Dale Ford says he did not punch, push, poke, prod or nudge Martin. The way of aggressors is hard.

"Then I hit him," John McGraw, manager of the New York Giants, wrote to John Tener, president of the National League, in his report on a postgame colloquy with Bill Byrnes, the Singing Umpire.

Now, there is a statement that should be preserved in the Hall of Fame. It is:

Second the Motion
The McGraw-Byrnes confrontation took place at the end of a game in Cincinnati on June 8, 1917. As related by Frank Graham of the New York Sun, one of four reporters traveling with the Giants, players on both teams had quarreled with the umpire almost constantly, and as they left the field Tom Clark, the Reds' catcher, was still snarling at Byrnes. At the entrance to the runway to the clubhouse, McGraw caught up with them.

"I don't know what you just said, Tom," he told Clark, "but whatever it was, it goes double for me."

"You talk big," Byrnes said, wheeling on McGraw. "I guess you didn't use to be so tough. They say you were run out of Baltimore."

McGraw was fiercely proud of his achievement as star third baseman for the legendary Orioles of the National League, with whom his batting average had ranged from .321 to .391.

"What did you say?" he demanded.

"They say you were run out of Baltimore," Byrnes said.

"They say! They say! I was run out of Baltimore! Would you say it?"

"Yes," Byrnes said. "I'd say it!"

McGraw hit him a short right hand that split Byrnes' upper lip. As the umpire staggered back, McGraw was on him again but Matty Schaub, the Reds' groundskeeper, flung both arms around

allowing six hits and striking out 13 in eight innings. Carlton leads the league with 118 strikeouts.

Cubs 10, Braves 5
In Chicago, Ivan DeJesus hit four singles and scored four times while Larry Rittner and Mike Vail each had three hits and three RBIs as Chicago snapped a four-game losing streak with a 10-5 victory over Atlanta.

Astros 7, Pirates 3
In Pittsburgh, Cesar Cedeño went three for four and hit a two-run homer to lead a 16-hit attack that carried Houston to a 7-3 victory over Pittsburgh.

Dodgers 8, Expos 0
In Montreal, Bill Russell and Pedro Guerrero homered in a four-run third inning as Los Angeles scored an 8-0 victory over Montreal.

Cardinals 4, Reds 3
In St. Louis, Ted Simmons doubled in the tying run and later scored the go-ahead run on a wild pitch in the seventh inning to give St. Louis a 4-3 victory over Cincinnati.

Mets 7, Giants 6
In New York, Steve Henderson's three-run homer in the ninth inning capped a five-run rally and carried New York to a 7-6 victory over San Francisco.

him. Bill Rariden, the Giants' catcher, cracked Schwab alongside the head. As players of both teams plunged in, cops wrestled through the tangle, pulled McGraw and Byrnes out and led them to their dressing rooms.

Strictly Personal
In his rooms in the Hotel Havlin, McGraw talked freely. Byrnes had delivered the insult deadly.

McGraw would have hit anybody who told that black lie and the fact that Byrnes was an umpire had nothing to do with the case. President Tener would understand that this was a personal matter not connected with any ball game or decision. It had not happened on the playing field but in the month of the runway. McGraw's written report to the league president summarized the verbal exchange with Byrnes.

"Then I hit him," he concluded. "I maintain I had reason to resent his insulting statement."

The Giants were in Pittsburgh five days later when the Sun wired Frank Graham that Tener had slapped a \$500 fine on McGraw and suspended him for 16 days. Graham was out when the wire arrived and it was opened by his roommate, Sid Mercer of the Globe, in keeping with an agreement between them. Mercer brought the news to McGraw, who blew a gasket. He denounced Tener and all his umpires. He accused the league president of bias against the Giants, adding that he had been railroaded into office by the Philadelphia club and had run the league from there.

"Do you want to be quoted?" Mercer asked.

"Every word!" McGraw said. "Tell the other newspapermen. I want this in every paper in New York."

Sid wrote a story and showed it to McGraw, thinking he might take it back when he saw how the words looked on paper. McGraw merely

glanced at the copy. "That's all right," he said. "Have you told the others?"

"I'll tell them now," Sid said. He ran down Graham, Sam Crane of the Evening Journal and Jimmy Sinnott of the Evening Mail.

Wire services picked up the story, and when Pittsburgh reporters ran at McGraw the next day he told them: "I've nothing more to say. It's all in that story."

With an open date between the Pittsburgh series and an engagement in Boston, the Giants played an exhibition in Wellsboro, N.Y., where McGraw had played 27 years earlier for \$60 a month. When the team went on to Boston, though, McGraw wasn't alone; he had received an urgent call to New York.

Next day the four reporters had a shock. Called before the National League board of directors, McGraw had submitted a signed statement denying that he had made the remarks attributed to him. Queried by their editors, the reporters stuck to their story and their papers backed them up.

Privately, Graham, Crane and Sinnott told their editors that they had got the facts second hand, but nobody doubted Mercer's integrity and competence and, anyway, McGraw had expressed the same sentiments to the other reporters later.

Who's the Liar?
Before the second game in Boston, McGraw faced two of the reporters in the visitor's clubhouse. He said that when he got to New York, Cornelius Sullivan, the Giants' attorney, had the statement already prepared and that Sullivan and Harry Hempstead, the owner, kept at him until he signed it.

"I made them make one change in it, though," he said. "It said you fellows had written scurrilous stories. I made them strike out 'scurrilous.'"

"You still called us liars," a reporter said.

"Well," McGraw said, "the hell with it!"

By now the Baseball Writers Association of America was in the act. It clamored for an investigation, and Tener appointed John Coway Toole, counsel for the league, to take testimony. The hearing left no body in doubt as to who had lied. Tener fined McGraw another \$1,000.

"It cost Mac \$300 for fighting and \$1,000 for talking about it," a baseball writer said.

McGraw stopped talking to McGraw. Nowhere do the available records show what was done about the 16-day suspension.

Nicklaus, Aoki Tied for Lead In U.S. Open

By John S. Radosta

SPRINGFIELD, N.J., June 15 (NYT) — Isao Aoki of Japan birdied the last two holes, caught Jack Nicklaus and gained a share of the lead yesterday after three rounds of the U.S. Open golf tournament. Aoki and Nicklaus were tied at 204, or six under par, a shot ahead of Lon Hinkle.

The 37-year-old Aoki, whose putting has been the wonder of this tournament, fashioned his third successive round of two-under-par 68 and did it dramatically.

He sank birdie putts on the 17th and 18th holes after he bogeyed the 16th hole to fall two shots behind Nicklaus, who faltered with his putting and took pars on the 17th and 18th to finish with a 70.

Hinkle was at 205 after a 69 yesterday while a stroke back of him were Keith Fergus, Mark Hayes and Tom Watson.

Some Sort of First
Aoki's charge set up a confrontation for today's final round, when the Japanese golfer will try to become the first Oriental to win one of golfing's big four titles.

Nicklaus had his putter smoking on the front nine, running off three birdies in four holes to reach eight under par after nine holes of the round, 45 for the tournament. His nearest pursuer was Aoki, with whom he was paired, who was five under par after 45 holes.

The tournament is being played on the par-70 Lower Course of the Baltusrol Golf Club, where Nicklaus won the second of his three U.S. Open titles in 1967.

Watson, trying to win his first Open, came out of the field with a rush, making five birdies in six holes. After 13 holes of the round, 49 for the tournament, Watson was four under par.

He started the day at one under, and was nipped for bogeys on the third and fifth holes. He retrieved one of those shots with a birdie on the eighth hole.

Close and Distant
Then Watson birdied the 10th from 15 feet, the 11th from 25 feet and the 12th from 4 feet. He followed with a birdie at No. 13 to reach four under.

Fergus, in his fourth year on the PGA Tour, was tied with Nicklaus early in the day, but he fell back with a double-bogey on the sixth and a bogey on the eighth.

It was a tough day for scoring because of the lightning-fast greens. All a ball needed was a touch to get it moving. Downhill putts were terrifying to contemplate — first putts rolled as much as 6 and 8 feet past the cup. As a result most of the field fell away from the leaders.

Nicklaus started the day at six under par and parred the first two holes. He dropped to five under with a bogey on the third where he missed the green to the right, chipped to 15 feet and took two putts.

He immediately recovered with birdies on Nos. 4, 5 and 7. On the fourth Nicklaus rolled in a putt of 20 feet. He birdied the next with an uphill 16-foot putt and then birdied No. 7 from 30 feet.

Aoki started the round at four under and picked up a stroke with a 13-foot birdie putt at the fifth.

Missing in Action
Tom Weiskopf, who shared the first-day lead with Nicklaus on a record-tying 63, started yesterday at two under and disappeared from the leader boards when he dropped down to even par.

One of the early starters, Hubert Green, gave the galleries something to buzz about as he picked off eight consecutive 3's on his way to a 65, five under par. Five of the 3's were birdies and the others were pars. Green, the 1977 U.S. Open champion, finished at 211, one over par for three rounds.

Green's string ran from the par-3 ninth hole through the par-3 16th. One reason the stretch was possible is that for this tournament Baltusrol has no par-5 holes until Nos. 17 and 18. The 17th is 630 yards long, so the string had to end there.

Someone congratulating Green said, "You had Baltusrol for lunch," a phrase popular among golf pros. "Baltusrol may have me for dinner tomorrow," Green replied.

John Mahaffey, runner-up in the 1975 Open and winner of the Kemper open two weeks ago, scored a 69 to finish at 214, four over par. He was tied with Jim Dent and Jerry McGee, both of whom shot 70 yesterday.

Lance Ten Brock posted 71-215. Lou Graham, the winner in 1975, scored 72-216, and was tied with Ben Crenshaw, 71, and Rod Carl, 72.

Ray Floyd, who shot 67, 79 in the first two rounds, turned in a 71-217 yesterday. Others in that bracket were Bobby Clampett, one of the country's leading amateurs, 71; David Graham, 72; Fuzzy Zoeller, 72; Jeff Mitchell, 73, and George Burns, 74.

Tigers 3, White Sox 0
In Detroit, the Tigers scored two sixth-inning runs off Britt Burns without the benefit of a hit and John Wockenfuss hit a seventh-inning homer as Detroit scored a 3-0 victory over Chicago.

Red Sox 7, Angels 3
In Anaheim, Calif., Carl Yastrzemski hit a two-run home run, the 15th homer by a Boston player in the last seven games, to lead Boston to a 7-3 victory over California.

Blue Jays 7, Rangers 6
In Toronto, Roy Howell's sacrifice fly scored Garth Long in the bottom of the ninth inning, capping a two-run rally that gave Toronto a 7-6 victory over Texas.

Indians 3, Twins 2
In Cleveland, Len Barker pitched a four-hitter as Cleveland defeated Minnesota, 3-2.

Ballesteros Out For Lateness

SPRINGFIELD, N.J., June 15 (NYT) — Severiano Ballesteros, the British Open and Masters champion, was disqualified Friday from the U.S. Open because he missed his 9:45 a.m. tee time in the second round.

Ballesteros said he thought his starting time was 10:45 o'clock until he learned differently from the driver of the courtesy car that took him to the course from his hotel. The starting times were published last week.

The 23-year-old Spaniard, who shot a 75 — 12 shots off the pace set by Jack Nicklaus and Tom Weiskopf — in Thursday's first round also told officials he was caught in traffic. He appeared on the first tee about four or five minutes late, a few moments after his fellow competitors, Hale Irwin and Mark O'Meara, struck their second shots.

John Laupheimer, deputy executive director of the U.S. Golf Association, and the starter on duty, spoke with the rules committee. A few minutes later Laupheimer was instructed by the committee to tell Ballesteros that he was disqualified.

Under the rules of golf, a player is disqualified if he does not tee off before his partners take their second shots. Jim Hand, vice president of the USGA, said the rules allowed for disqualification to be waived or modified "under unusual circumstances," but he said Ballesteros did not qualify.

Officials Reject U.S. Track Date
PHILADELPHIA, June 15 (UPI) — The International Amateur Athletic Federation has said from its London headquarters that the international track and field meet scheduled here for July 22 and 23 was "not acceptable" because of the direct conflict with the Moscow Olympics.

It warned the Amateur Athletic Union that it faced sanctions if it went ahead with the Philadelphia competition. "We don't want to violate anyone's rules and the IAAF certainly doesn't want to start a fight with us," said Ollie Cassell, executive director of the Athletics Congress, the ruling body of track and field in the United States.

Officials said that West Germany, Kenya, Japan, China and Canada already had accepted invitations to compete in Berkeley, Calif., July 17 and 18 and in Philadelphia, and that 73 other nations involved in the boycott of the Moscow Olympics had been invited to attend.

Transactions
BASEBALL
AMERICAN LEAGUE
CALIFORNIA ANGELS—Activated coach Merv Rettenmund as outfielder.

NATIONAL LEAGUE
CINCINNATI REDS—Recalled Joe Price, pitcher, from Indianapolis of the American Association. Sent Sheldon Brisker, pitcher, to Indianapolis. Designated Don Werner, catcher, for reinstatement. Signed Joe Nelson, catcher, for reinstatement. Signed Joe Nelson, catcher, for reinstatement.

PITTSBURGH PIRATES—Activated Tim Lincecum, outfielder, from the Pacific Coast League.

BASKETBALL
NATIONAL BASKETBALL ASSOCIATION
NBA

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